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# THE MONTH

NOVEMBER, 1948

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# THE MONTH •

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# THE MONTH

VOL. CLXXXVI

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## EDITORIAL COMMENTS

### What of the United Nations ?

**R**EELY can an international conference have lasted so long and achieved so little, and have carried on its conversations at so low and undignified a level, as the meeting of the United Nations' Organization at Paris. If that is the hope of the coming generation, then God help the world ! This is no direct reflection upon the many nations there represented who are ready, indeed anxious, to collaborate in order to bring about conditions of settlement and stability. The Power which is bringing to frustration all well-meant attempts for peace and mutual confidence is the same Power which is stirring unrest and blocking recovery throughout three continents.

Every reunion of U.N.O. makes it increasingly evident that agreement between Russia and the Western Powers is a practical impossibility. To this those must begin to resign themselves, who have not been convinced about it from the very start. It is frankly impossible, as things are—this means, with the present rulers of Russia—to reach any agreement with the Soviet Government except in some quite subordinate fields, such as business and exchange of commerce. For the rest, there is *deadlock*—and this deadlock policy has been embarked upon deliberately from the Russian side. It might be eased—yes, for a time and because of tactical reasons—were the Western Powers to make concessions, for instance, should they evacuate Berlin or suspend their arrangements for a Western German administration ; but the thaw would soon freeze again into a new deadlock, with the Russians one step more advanced along their pathway of European domination.

In his Llandudno speech Mr. Churchill insisted that the only guarantee of safety to-day lies in strength. This is as unfortunate as it is unfortunately true. The 1939-45 war might have been averted had there then functioned a strong League of Nations, with a secure and powerful United States' backing or had Britain and France remained resolute and prepared. Alas, neither of these possibilities was realized. A Third World War may be averted, if an armed and united Nations' Organization can be created and if the Western Powers show their determination to resist further Russian advance or penetration. The Western countries are now firmer in their attitude ;

they are more evidently united ; they look more seriously to their defences. So far, so necessary and so good.

But what of U.N.O.? Is it to continue in its present state, providing a pretty picture of international discord and reducing the notion of a "League of Nations" to an absurdity? And are the best intentions of the majority of its member nations to be defeated and brought to nought through a veto, exercised by one only among the Powers? This can foster nothing but confusion in international relations. For the past twelve months the Western Powers have gone ahead on their own and in conjunction, more or less independently of U.N.O., because it was impossible to achieve results inside the U.N.O. framework. Now, with the dispute about Berlin, they have reverted to U.N.O. discussions, only once again to discover that such discussions lead nowhere. During the discussions, M. Vishinsky, representative of a large—if not wholly great—Power, sat there in solemn and unfriendly silence, the picture of a schoolboy in the sulks. International co-operation between Russia, plus her satellites, and the other countries has not even begun.

### The Nations—Can They be "United"?

**W**HAT, then, of the United Nations? Must one meeting follow another without tangible results? Are these international reunions to be little but the occasion of charge and counter-charge, often of the most trivial and puerile sort? And an opportunity for Soviet preaching and propaganda? To assume that this must be and to make no effort to provide a remedy would be a counsel of despair.

If U.N.O. is to be rescued from its present futility and frustration, then one or other path must be pursued. The veto must go. That is the first possibility. Its abolition would at least allow the majority of the Powers to come to some conclusion about the rights and wrongs of disputes ; they might further decide that this or the other line of action should be taken. But here, the power to decide would probably remain theoretical, if Russia, let us imagine, showed herself ready to resist the action proposed. The alternative might easily be war—and that decision U.N.O. could never risk. For the strength of U.N.O. is only the sum of the strength of member nations who are determined to carry through U.N.O. resolutions. Past experience, e.g. of the League of Nations, has shown that nations will take action in their own defence but not yet as members of an international society, unless their own interests are clearly and vitally involved. Therefore, as the world is now constituted, U.N.O. can never take effective action in the teeth of Russian resistance, unless the Western Powers are ready, regardless of consequence, to take such action. This means the risk of war, and the readiness to run that risk.

In practice, then, U.N.O. cannot function properly, so long as Russia is there to play a nullifying and ruinous rôle. Nor can it function in the face of determined Russian opposition.

Is there no hope? Must U.N.O. then drag on, justifying itself by the business that is done through its smaller societies and sub-committees, while the reunions of the Assembly and the Security Council end in futility and failure? There is a second possibility. This is that U.N.O. be reconstituted as a defensive alliance of all the countries that are ready to accept common principles of international law and to work together on this common foundation. This would indicate an association of the peoples of the West, in Europe and the two Americas, with the members of the British Commonwealth and the still free peoples of Asia, Near and Far. If agreement with Russia is impossible and if every possible effort must be made to avoid war, then this is the only practical way. U.N.O. needs to be transformed into an association of peoples on a more limited basis with a reasonably common attitude towards political life and international behaviour. It should be made perfectly clear that a new U.N.O. of the kind would defend every one of its member States against aggression from outside, and this U.N.O. should be obviously powerful enough to do so. The present U.N.O. has failed because it took too much for granted and tried to do from the start what it was not yet equipped to do, because it thought that numbers were a substitute for quality, and because it had far too scant regard for the moral basis of international collaboration.

Only a radical transformation can save U.N.O. Yet it should not be thought that the Paris meeting was devoid of value. That it came to few or no practical conclusions is true. But the fact that the Western Powers were ready to discuss most important issues and that they showed great patience in face of Russia's wrecking tactics—this has been noted and understood by all member States apart from the Soviet-dominated bloc. The behaviour of the Russian delegates in Paris will have strengthened a world opinion against Russia.

### The Problem of France

THE weak link in the chain of Western European countries which are drawing closer to one another for mutual assistance and defence, is without doubt France. France does not pull her weight in the struggle for Europe. On the economic plane, France has made great strides since 1945. Up and down the land there is plenty, though it is not well distributed; but there is a notable lack of civic responsibility; taxes are avoided, duties shirked. No post-war government has had sufficient stability or courage to tackle the most important problem in France, that of inflation. In consequence, prices have continually risen; wages do not keep pace with the cost of living; there is a permanent incentive to strike, which can be exploited by the Communists who control the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.); an increase in wages sends prices soaring even higher, and so the vicious spiral continues.

At the back of this economic crisis is certainly a widespread apathy and even demoralisation. Indeed, it is remarkable how France to-

day manifests, to one side, a real Catholic revival, in literature and in Christian living as also new methods of the apostolate, and to the other side, a demoralisation and decline.

Politically, the situation is precarious. Since 1945, the Communists have gradually been ousted from government but they constitute a powerful force that is able to exercise a pressure on the Government from outside and in defiance of constitutional procedure. In December, 1947, they attempted to stage a general strike ; this proved a failure, and their attempt was brought to nothing through the energy of the Prime Minister, M. Schuman. This year, in October, they organized a strike of miners. These miners may have grievances. It is not difficult to discover grievances in the inflationary state of France ; nor is it difficult to exploit grievances, and this is what the Communist Party has done. The remaining two workers' organizations, the Christian Trades Unions and the *Force Ouvrière*, were opposed to the strike, but the C.G.T. deliberately engineered it. This it did, using grievances as a pretext but in point of fact on instructions received from the Cominform. The miners' strike in France was a political move against the French Government. As M. Queuille has declared, the strike was an act of revolution. The Minister of the Interior, M. Moch, asserted that it was begun on written orders, that were signed by Zhdanov and commanded the French Communists to start the strike at the end of September, and also that the Soviet Union had sent large sums of money to finance the strikers. This is direct interference in French affairs, and its intention is patent. It aims at disrupting French economy, so that the American aid to France will be wasted and futile. France must not recover—that is Russia's intention—and her Communists are working in France to prevent recovery.

However, this open challenge to the Government of France will end ultimately in defeat. This may happen in more than one way. The Government whose policy throughout has been restrained but firm, will get the miners back to work, possibly with some pay concessions ; the miners will then learn that their strike has failed and that the true motives of their leaders were political and not economic, that they were playing Russia's game, not that of the French working man. Indeed, reports declare that many of the strikers are apathetic and bewildered about the strike. In this event, the Government of the central groups in France may continue ; this would be hailed as a victory for the Third Force.

One must not forget, however, the figure of General de Gaulle. The more the Communists interfere with French industry and the national life, so much the more sharply is this figure impressed upon the mind of the French. There exists, it is true, a deep-seated fear of one-man rule among a proportion of Frenchmen, an aversion to monarchy which is like the French aversion to clericalism. But, at the same time, when things go badly, the French are more inclined than would be the British, to look for salvation to a single man. France

had four different experiments with kingship during the nineteenth century. To borrow a distinction from Charles Péguy, *mystique* turns too often and too speedily to *politique*; but when they are sufficiently tired of one variant of *politique*, Frenchmen may be ready to welcome a *mystique* of another kind.

### Democracy in France

**T**O those who hope for the survival of Parliamentary democracy in France, the decline of the "Christian Democrats" or M.R.P. is a serious setback. There is little doubt that the party is in decline, witness election results of Sunday, October the 17th. Yet, M.R.P. is the only party in French political life which is really *central*. Its associates in government are Socialists, clearly to the Left, and Radicals who, despite their name, are more or less conservative. In part the decline of M.R.P. is due to the growth of the de Gaulle movement. But there are other reasons. An illuminating article in *Commonweal* (October 1st, 1948) by M. Claude Julien, one of its founders, speaks of its history and experiences.

In 1941, Gilbert Dru, student at the University of Lyons, came forward as one of the great Resistance leaders. He edited the underground's largest paper, *Témoignage Chrétien*, with a circulation of 300,000. This young man was concerned not only with resistance to the Germans; he foresaw the spiritual and political consequences of the years of occupation, and envisaged an intensive struggle by Catholics for social and economic justice. He entered into relations with the general committee of the Catholic Youth Association, that federates various movements like J.O.C. and J.E.C., and also with M. Georges Bidault, then National Chairman of the Resistance Movement, who has been a member of the small *Parti Démocrate Populaire* before the war.

At the end of 1943 was organized the underground *Mouvement Républicain de Libération*, which, after the arrival of American troops in Paris, took its present name of *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (M.R.P.). "The idea" writes M. Julien "was that the M.R.P. should not be a *party*, but really a *movement* which would train militants and leaders all over the country. It was not only to appear on the stage for electoral campaigns when votes must be obtained, but also would be a permanent instrument for the organization of 'spiritual' forces in French politics. I say 'spiritual' instead of 'Catholic', for our intention was not to limit our action to the members of the Church; we knew that many Socialists, for example, had followed the doctrinal evolution of their leader, Léon Blum. We hoped that an agreement was possible between progressive Catholics and humanist Socialists. We dreamed of a powerful, non-denominational, 'humanist', centre-Left majority, inasmuch as before the war anti-clericalism had separated most Socialists from Social Catholics. Because the traditional anti-clericalism of the Third Republic seemed to be almost obsolete, we saw in 1944 the possibility of uniting with Socialists on social and economic agreements."

By June, 1946, it was the largest party in France, and it was strong in industrial areas ; in the Northern coal mines four M.R.P. deputies were elected compared with two Communists, the industrial town of Saint-Etienne returned three M.R.P. members. The party lacked political experience and had to seek allies. In the first place, the Socialists who, however, fearful lest they lose ground to the Communists, moved as far as they dared to the Left ; then, General de Gaulle, with whom M.R.P. desired to remain on good terms. Thus, comments M. Julien, "the clear-cut programme which had given it strength in the first elections was diluted by all kinds of compromises". M. Julien criticises M.R.P. for becoming a *party*, and losing its consciousness of itself as a *movement* ; elasticity has disappeared and a hard party mould imposed. From this standpoint he examines and condemns policies and measures of the party, yet throughout his article the reader is aware of this question : "How can a *movement* not become a political *party*, when it appears as a *party* in political life ?" To this M. Julien has no answer.

Yet, he does show how internal differences as well as the need to conciliate political allies, have led to 'breaches within M.R.P. itself. In November, 1947, M. Michelet, formerly Army Minister, and M. Terrenoire, editor of *L'Aube*, left M.R.P. and joined M. Stanislas Fumet, editor of *Temps Présent*, to establish the de Gaulle weekly paper, *A Présent*. On the other side, several members have moved further to the Left and followed Emmanuel Mounier, editor of *Esprit*.

In M. Julien's opinion, the younger elements of M.R.P. are trying to revert to the original notion of a *movement*, and are convinced, in his words, "that their rôle is not to create or to protect Catholic institutions or structures, but rather to transform from within all institutions. This is possible only if there is no special group to appeal to all Catholic candidates and all Catholic voters".

### The United States, France and Spain

**T**here is a widespread belief in the United States, that in the event of war, France will prove a broken reed. Particularly in U.S. Army circles is the conviction current that Spain, not France, will be the citadel of European resistance to Russia. On strategic grounds therefore, strong pressure will be put on Mr. Dewey, as soon as he is elected President, to resume normal diplomatic relations with General Franco. This the Spaniards know, and they expect shortly to be in receipt of American aid. Meanwhile, signs are not lacking of United States interest in Spain, such as the work of U.S. engineers on Spanish air fields and the recent invitation to one hundred Spanish Army officers to visit the U.S.A.

In the light of the Paris U.N.O. meeting our attitude towards the Spanish Government is seen to be more and more absurd. During one of the sessions, Mr. Mayhew quite roundly declared that the Soviet system was the worst tyranny the world had known. Yet, here

they were, sitting round the same table with the delegates of that tyranny, while we refuse the ordinary courtesies of diplomacy to Spain, the one country that has successfully withstood that tyranny and foiled its efforts to rule Spaniards. Judged by diplomatic tradition, our present attitude to Spain does not make sense. Diplomatic relations do not imply full approval ; it could be left at that. One suspects that the difficulties in the way of normal relationship are psychological and connected with domestic politics in France and Britain rather than international in character. If Britain can bring itself to resume official relations with General Franco, a number of British politicians will have to 'eat their words', and here perhaps digestion is a trifle sensitive. For the Left-minded journalist Franco has been a very convenient Aunt Sally, whom it was easier and more fun to pillory than Great Uncle Stalin and his numerous family. Sooner or later, realism will have to prevail ; in my opinion, it will not be long before the United States re-establishes full relationship with Spain and will persuade Britain to follow suit.

While this does not imply full justification of the Franco régime, the observer cannot but contrast Spain and France at the present time. In Spain, there is order ; in France, disorder. Whatever grievances Spaniards may have, they are at least agreed that such differences cannot be settled through civil strife. In France, you have organized strikes against the Government which have already amounted to a *cold* civil war. It is idle to preach to Spaniards the blessings of democracy while they can study the practical consequences of one form of democracy to the North of the Pyrenees. Indeed, what has recently happened in France has convinced the majority of Spaniards that they are better off under a firm, if at times severe, rule, than they would be under a looser and more 'democratic' system that would allow full play to the forces of disruption, directed and controlled by Soviet Russia.

### Communists and the Trades Unions

THESE French strikes have brought into the open a similar problem in Britain, which though not of the same magnitude, needs none the less to be faced. This is the presence of Communists at key points in the nation's industrial life. If it was deemed expedient to remove Communists from posts of special confidence within the civil and other services, it is at least equally necessary to be rid of them from these positions of key industrial importance.

It was the strike of the French miners that brought the issue to a head. Mr. Horner, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, attended the French C.G.T. conference and gave his support to the miners' strike—an attitude at once repudiated and condemned by Mr. Lawther, president of Mr. Horner's Union. It was well known that these strikes were, in the first place, political and not economic, and that their purpose was to nullify the effects of the American aid

to France. The T.U.C. policy in Britain, on the other hand, is to encourage production and to co-operate in every way with the forces working for the recovery of Britain and Europe.

The policy of the C.G.T. is therefore the exact opposite of that pursued by the T.U.C. in Britain. The C.G.T. is acting directly and deliberately against French interests and against the proper interests of the French workers ; it is delaying French and European recovery, on the instructions of the Cominform. It was quite wrong that this attitude should receive support of any kind from any Englishman, and particularly from a man in an official Trades Union capacity. For this attitude is not that of the T.U.C., nor of the British Mineworkers, not indeed of anybody in Britain save for the handful of Communists who, like Mr. Horner, have found their way into key posts within the Unions.

This incident has brought to the surface the struggle which for some time has been going on within the Unions between Communists and the vast anti-Communist majority. There have been other recent signs : among them, the dismissal of an anti-Communist shop steward in Manchester because he would not follow the instructions of the Communists in control positions, and the open air meeting, also in Manchester, that called upon the Government to assist in purging the Unions of these Communists. But Government action is not the better method. The Union members have the remedy in their own hands, though it may require time to make full use of it. For it is they who have, in most cases, voted these men into authority—often *passively*, by taking little interest in Union affairs and thus enabling a small but disciplined minority to assert itself. For, it is quite *inconsistent*, to employ the mildest of expressions, that key posts in Unions whose official policy is one of increased effort and production should be occupied by members of a political party that has declared its opposition to such increase of effort, and which is notorious for its cohesion and party discipline. For the Communist Party of Britain, acting on Cominform instructions, has made its mind clear ; it will resist and interfere with the Government programme for recovery.

However, Mr. Horner's clumsiness has served Britain far better than Mr. Horner intended. It has compelled the T.U.C. and it will compel the individual Unions to look into their affairs and decide what men have to be removed, if the Unions are to do their job. Mr. Horner made two further disquieting statements, which call for comment. The first, that Russia sent large sums of money to finance the British miners in their 1921 and 1926 strikes—two early instances of Soviet interference in British politics. The second, that Mr. Horner himself was on two occasions offered a post on the National Coal Board at an annual salary of £5,000. That a responsible minister should offer a post of this kind to a revolutionary and Communist from the beginning like Mr. Horner is indeed surprising.

### Is Time on Our Side ?

THIS is a question often asked, and answered often with a note of optimism. But is this optimism justified? Does it perhaps spring from that political *Coué-ism*, by which we tell ourselves that things are sure to improve with time? Is it the ancient fallacy of inevitable progress once again rearing its soporific head?

It would be most unwise to assume too much or be complacent. In the matter of armaments, Russia will certainly build up a formidable equipment. She has unlimited man-power at her disposal and is prepared to make the most callous use of it. Though Western science and invention are far superior to those of Russia, there is no guarantee that Russia will not make discoveries that would vastly increase her capacity for waging war. It would appear that her present intention is to continue the cold war rather than risk a war of weapons; but, should she feel herself stronger, this attitude might soon be altered. Nor are Russian weapons primarily defensive. The 1948 edition of "Jane's Fighting Ships" states that Russia has now 260 submarines, with 100 more nearing completion; she hopes to have one thousand submarines within three or four years. The measure of Russian strength and weakness may be noted here. Weakness, for most of these submarines have been modelled on surrendered German U-boats; strength, in quantity and number. The same blend of weakness and power is evidenced in Russian aircraft. They too are mostly constructed after captured German models; they too are very numerous. Military experts view with growing seriousness this war potential of Soviet Russia.

But the time factor is not merely a military one. Visitors from countries behind the iron curtain insist that time is most definitely not on the side of the West. In those lands, e.g. in Hungary, Poland and Roumania, the structure of society is being radically transformed. The middle classes—those sections of society from which leaders and administrators might be obtained were these countries freed from Communist control—are being steadily reduced to impotence; many have been liquidated, others have been driven or have voluntarily gone abroad. It is part of Communist tactics to rid themselves of individuals or groups or classes that have the makings of leadership until in practice nothing is left between the proletariat and the Party commissars that rule it. All the more reason then, argue these visitors and exiles, that Free Movements, e.g. of Poles, Roumanians and Magyars and others, should be encouraged in Western countries, just as they were encouraged and assisted during the war. Further, over and above the displaced persons so-called, waiting in Germany and elsewhere for new homes overseas, there are large numbers of educated and intelligent men and women from these countries available for responsible work. For the future of Europe, and especially of the East-Central European lands, it would be a far-sighted policy to utilize these men and women, making it possible for them to remain in contact with one another. So would you have an élite, a nucleus for

the administration of these countries, once they are liberated from Communism.

From another viewpoint, time would appear to favour the West. Recovery is the foe of revolution. This Soviet Russia well understands : witness her attempts to delay and wreck the economy of France. There are reasonable prospects that, through the policies of self-help and mutual-help and the vast programme of American assistance, the countries of Western Europe and of Southern Europe, too, will improve their standards of living during the next four years and establish conditions of greater stability and confidence. If this can be realized, then Western Europe will be more prosperous, stronger and freed from the incubus of doubt and defeatism. The present Allied attitude of patient firmness coupled with the realistic decision to look to defence is the best available, and the surest safeguard of the condition of peace—however *cold* it may be—which now obtains.

### Need for a More Positive Faith

**Y**ET, one thing is sadly lacking, and this is a firm belief in the way of life we are called upon to protect. Far too frequently is the conflict between "West" and "East" envisaged as a struggle between Capitalism and Communism, between free enterprise and absolute control, between two competing and incompatible orderings of human activity. It is far more fundamental—and this can never be too forcibly underlined. It is a conflict between two philosophies which are warring for the soul and the very existence of Man : the first, the traditional way of thought which looks upon Man, however indistinctly, as a human person, with rights and liberties, with an individual purpose in life and a personal worth—and these are the ideas that are expressed under the general term of "democracy", for "democracy" goes far deeper than any method of electing the representatives of a people ; the second, the new heresy from the East with many characteristics of older heresies from the East, and this denies wholly the personal value of the individual, subordinating him ruthlessly to some collective scheme and vision.

Unfortunately, far too many in the West are content to think of the advantages of their way of life without realizing its implications or accepting its responsibilities. They value freedom as freedom *from* rather than liberty to *do* and act ; they emphasize *rights* and demand all that these rights can bring them, without understanding the *obligations* which such rights involve. Thus can rights and liberties breed selfishness and individualism. This fatal tendency is enhanced when large sections of the population have lost their hold upon Christian belief of any kind, and their moral standards have consequently deteriorated. In the last resort, the two must go together. You cannot defend liberty without firm insistence upon morality ; and you will not preserve this serious moral outlook without definite religious beliefs.

In an article in this number may be found an analysis of some of the elements which have created what we know as Europe and the European outlook upon life. There it is insisted—and this cannot be too strongly urged—that this European outlook is fundamentally a Christian outlook, which inherited much that was of worth and grandeur in the ancient world and yet enriched this heritage with the Christian light and faith. It is significant that on the Continent at the moment the groups which are politically most articulate and at the same time most constructive are definitely Christian groups—predominantly Catholic, it is true, but including also many strong Protestant elements. Everywhere it is seen that the one political force that can stand firmly counter to Communism is this Christian force. In the recent elections in Rhineland-Westphalia the Christian Democratic Union increased its votes to become the strongest party in the province, and this increase was mainly at the expense of the Communist Party. Religion and politics do not always mix. But in times as critical as ours, the true politician is the man who has behind him a sound philosophy of Man and human life and genuine Christian beliefs.

### Report from Berlin

DURING the past few weeks, I have had several opportunities of speaking with visitors to London from Berlin : among them, a parish priest. From these conversations emerges a picture of life in the German capital. Conditions—surprising to relate—are thought not too bad. Many of the ruins have been cleared ; the people have adapted themselves remarkably to their cramped and inconvenient circumstances. They are not apathetic ; indeed, they would seem to be more active, more interested in events, than Germans in the Western zones. Where they can express themselves—that is, outside of the Russian zone—they are anti-Russian, almost to a man. Conditions in the Russian-occupied districts around the city, they say, are very bad. The Russians confiscate the produce in order to make it available to the Berliners, for motives of propaganda and Russian prestige. But these are not deceived ; they know that the Russians are still living off the land and still transferring goods and machinery from Germany to Russia. But here it should be observed that the German is impressed by method, and the Russians certainly have a *method*, however untidy and destructive it be. There is, however, little genuine support for the German Unity party, which is Communist. Indeed, the Berliners have shown themselves politically very active and, despite Russian pressure, have steadily refused to elect a city Government, Communist in majority or character. Active too is intellectual life as also organized entertainment. Theatres are in full swing. The University has been opened but, as this is in the Russian quarter, the British authorities have converted the *Berliner Technische Hochschule* or Polytechnic into a university, and have added courses in the Arts to the more technical curriculum. The Americans, in their sector,

have inaugurated a free university. The Soviet authorities "vet" the university students and make it difficult for the son of a professor or a professional man to study. They have not, however, fully 'sovietized' the University, and several Catholic professors remain on the university staff. On the whole, the French are considered to have been most successful in cultural propaganda. They have sponsored exhibitions and lectures, brought many lecturers and visitors from France and facilitated contacts between French and Germans. This too is the verdict upon the French in their South-Western region of occupation, namely in Baden and Württemberg. The pity is that the French have spoiled this good work, in the South-West region as also in Vorarlberg and Tyrol, which they occupy in Austria, by their policy of material confiscations.

Catholic life in Berlin is vigorous but Catholics in Berlin feel themselves cut off from their fellow-Catholics because of the blockade. Widespread co-operation takes place between Catholics and Protestants on a scale that would have been unimaginable before 1933. Conscious of the threat of militant secularism to every kind of religious belief, Catholics and Protestants have carried much further since 1945 the various rapprochements that were to be noticed under Nazi pressure. Nor, I understand, is this collaboration confined to the sphere of action ; there are reunions of Lutheran pastors and Catholic priests, authorised by their bishops, for theological discussion. Two at least of these visitors from Germany have commented upon the fact that the relations to-day between Catholics and Protestants in Germany are far closer than they appeared to be in Britain.

Extending this survey from Berlin to Germany, one remarks in the first place the immense work of relief undertaken by the Catholic organization, *Caritas*—a work extended to the millions of expelled and displaced Germans from the Eastern provinces. Then, there is the revival of a Catholic press—slow as yet but of importance and of happy augury. The reviews, *Hochland* and *Stimmen der Zeit* have recommenced publication ; new periodicals include the *Rheinischer Merkur* and the *Frankfurter Hefte* (*Hochland*, it is said, has a circulation of 30,000 ; *Frankfurter Hefte*, 75,000) ; and there are diocesan magazines. But German Catholics have a long journey to travel before they can reach the number of almost 500 Catholic newspapers and weeklies which the Nazis destroyed. They are very conscious that organization is not enough. Maybe, in German fashion, they were over-organized prior to 1933. They feel that parochial societies, though they serve admirable purposes, need to be supplemented by movements on the lines of the French and Belgian movements of *Jeunesse*, and that different sections of society require their separate spiritual provision. Finally, there is the vast Diaspora problem, of which mention was made in this commentary a few months back—the problem of the millions of Catholics now living in what were predominantly non-Catholic provinces, unprovided with Catholic churches or schools.

## CONTACTS WITH RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY

THE collapse of the Czarist system and the establishment of absolute Bolshevik rule brought about within the Russian Orthodox Church an era of great crisis. This period has had many and varied phases ; its consequences could not be foreseen and even now cannot be fully grasped. Out of this period of crisis the Russian Church is not yet able to emerge.

Prior to 1917, the Russian Orthodox Church had worked out its own "ideology", its system of ideas. These developed gradually through centuries of isolation from other Christian bodies ; they were coloured by a Russian national mysticism and affected by a dependence upon the secular Power which seemed to the average Russian mind a sure foundation for the ecclesiastical structure. The Slavophils of the nineteenth century had revived and accentuated the old tradition of Russian *Messianism*, and in the eyes of many sincere believers Moscow did appear the Incarnation of the *Third Rome*. The history of our own times has shown us how cruel and perverted an interpretation has been given to this once religious dream. It has shown that, if Russia believes herself to be bearer and prophet of a new order for her own people and for the world at large, that order has nothing to do with Christianity or with the traditional Russian Church.

At the present moment, Russian Orthodoxy, after so much persecution and humiliation, is uncertain of the future and uncertain of itself ; it is seeking itself, trying to express itself and its proper character. In point of fact, it has to recognize that it is very seriously divided. For us it may well be of interest to enquire whether it has learnt any new lessons from its cruel experiences of persecution and exile, whether it has to any extent revised its theological position and especially, how it regards to-day the Catholic Church. For so long it ignored this Church which to-day presents a picture of unity, cohesion and firmness of belief which cannot have failed to impress the Russian Orthodox mind.

To these questions, however, not one but two answers have to be supplied. For it is nowadays unreal to talk about one Russian Orthodox Church. Russian bishops living outside the Soviet Union, who incidentally are frequently in rivalry and opposition, have an attitude which is very far removed from that of the Moscow Patriarchate. Even within the Soviet Union, it would be an oversimplification to speak only of the official Orthodox Church. Quite apart from the "Old Believers" and the numerous *sects* which have considerable importance, there are many Orthodox, clergy and layfolk

—some of the best Orthodox are among their number—who will have nothing to do with the official hierarchy that has concluded what they would term a blasphemous bargain with the Soviet Government; these men and women continue to lead a hidden and heroic religious life; they are a veritable church of the catacombs.

In this article, I propose to make a small *tour d'horizon*, a round voyage to see what are the elements in Russian Orthodoxy at the present time. It is most convenient to begin with the Russian communities abroad, which include the emigrants of the first Diaspora, after the Bolshevik revolution, as well as the second wave of refugees from the second World War, who have preferred not to return to Russia.

#### CHURCHES OF THE EMIGRATION

I shall not attempt to give a complete picture of the different Orthodox hierarchies which share the religious allegiance of the émigré Russians or Ukrainians. Still less is it my purpose to trace their histories and varied experiences. In fact, I want to confine myself to two main groups—the most important—and to enquire what, at this particular moment, is their attitude towards the Catholic Church and what contacts have they with Catholics.

(I). From this point of view, the Church which is of greatest interest and is also, in its outlook, the nearest to the Catholic position, is that which gives allegiance to the *Synod of Russian Orthodox Bishops Abroad*. This synod was set up after the great emigration of 1918 and 1919, and for a long time its centre was at Karlovtsy in Yugoslavia. Its president was the famous Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Antonius Khrapovitsky, who was a candidate for the Moscow Patriarchate, when it was re-established in 1917. The present head of the synod, immediate successor to Mgr. Antonius, is the Metropolitan Anastasius. During the war, he resided at Geneva, but he has now made Munich his headquarters. Munich is therefore the administrative centre of this hierarchy which has bishops and faithful in practically every part of the world. It is the Church that most faithfully reflects the old Russian Orthodoxy, from which it has inherited a great respect for tradition, a very exact sense of authority and an instinctive mistrust of liturgical or theological innovations. Here, one might recall its rejection of the daring “sophiological” interpretations of the archpriest, Bulgakov, and the Russian theological school in Paris. This Church has also maintained a position of firm isolation from other religious “confessions”, refraining jealously from any compromise and, under Mgr. Antonius, showing little sympathy with the Catholicism which it has seen everywhere at work.

However, on this point, there has been marked change. We ought not, incidentally, to forget that Mgr. Anastasius was the only Orthodox prelate publicly to protest when the “apostolic zeal”

of Comrade Stalin led him to incorporate forcibly into the official Orthodox Church the Catholic "Uniats" of Galicia, which had been annexed to the Soviet Union.

Contacts with the Catholic Church are now neither resented nor avoided ; at times, they are being eagerly sought. One of the reasons for this change of attitude is, in all probability, that the leaders of this synodal hierarchy are no longer afraid of proselytism on the part of Catholics ; indeed, they consider that the Catholic Church has abandoned its previous methods. Here, they are not entirely mistaken. It is certain that Catholics, who are specialising in this matter of "reunion" consider that the most important thing is not to bring about as large a number of individual conversions in the shortest possible time but rather to look for fruitful contacts and spiritual rapprochement with the Orthodox Church—an indispensable precondition for the reunion *en masse* of the separated churches with the centre of unity and universality. The present tendency is to abstain, in view of a "greater good" and because of more profound understanding of the problem, from earlier tactics.

Reassured by what they consider to be a change of Catholic policy and feeling themselves more secure in their religious position, the leaders of this synodal Church have been very much impressed by the firm stand of the Catholic Church against the falsity and treachery of contemporary materialism. This attitude, which they would like to make their own, is in vivid contrast with the cowardice and compromise of many Christians, not least among their Orthodox brethren. They tell one another, conscious that they are surrounded by an ocean of indifference and irreligion, that only in the Catholic Church can they discover that fraternal help which will allow a full and integral Christianity to develop.

They have made positive efforts to obtain this fraternal assistance. Orthodox bishops have gone to Rome to seek it. Wherever possible, they like to have contact with official Catholic representatives. During a recent episcopal visitation of Russian churches in Austria, the Metropolitan Anastasius paid a visit to the Prince Bishop of Salzburg, to thank him for his kindness to Russian refugees. At the conclusion of the interview, the Prince Bishop made him a present of a very fine liturgical ornament, used in the Eastern churches. Shortly afterwards, the Metropolitan, wearing the ornament, celebrated a solemn *moleben* of thanksgiving. This is only a slight incident, but incidents of the kind would have been inconceivable ten years ago.

Nevertheless, we must be careful not to entertain false hopes. This synodal Church does not seem at all likely to reunite with the Holy See. In fact, the term "union" or "reunion" has long had an unpleasant sound to Orthodox ears. It rings far too clearly like "submission to Rome" and so inspires aversion which the Orthodox take no pains to conceal. The position of the synodal Church is

exactly the following (it is the Catholic position in reverse) : " We have the fullness of Christian truth. Roman Catholics are in error but they are people of good will. They represent a religious force of very great strength. The time has come for us to enter into relations with them and to establish with them a common front against the irreligion which threatens us both ".

What they want in effect is a simple alliance which would leave untouched the doctrinal differences that separate Orthodox from Catholics. The interesting point is, however, that the initiative towards this rapprochement, in however limited a manner it be conceived, comes precisely from this synodal Church which till recently adopted so firm a policy of isolation.

It should also be noted that the attitude of the synodal Church to Catholicism is far removed from the indifferentism and vague sentimental patriotism, found frequently among the Orthodox, attached to their religion by a kind of national tradition but ready to allow that all religions are of equal worth. In this Church you have the opposite position. Here Orthodoxy proclaims itself to be the one genuine depositary of Christian truth. With a Church of this character, which has this conception of its spiritual mission, even if it be mistaken in its claims, it is possible to have genuine discussion and rapprochement ; it represents a spiritual power that demands respect.

(II). There are several reasons, historical as well as theological, why the important Orthodox group, known as the *Exarchate of the Church of Constantinople*, is less concerned with Catholic contacts than the synodal Church. The name "Constantinople" is interesting. Mgr. Eulogius, Metropolitan of Paris and Western Europe, had no desire for fusion with the synodal Church, for that would have reduced his authority ; still less, did he wish to submit to the authority of the Moscow Patriarchate. Accordingly, he entered into relations with the Mother Church of Constantinople and became officially its Exarch. Towards the close of his life, under pressure of circumstances, he took a step which, it is said, he regretted immediately ; he submitted to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch Alexis of Moscow. However, he took the precaution of making this act of submission dependent upon the approval of the *Phanar* ; needless to relate, the approval was never given. This subtle diplomat had another idea—somewhat unusual in ecclesiastical matters. During his lifetime, he nominated his successor. When the new Metropolitan was appointed by telegram from Moscow on the death of Eulogius, he found his place in the Rue Daru already taken by Mgr. Vladimir, Bishop of Nice, who had become *ipso facto* the new Exarch of the Mother Church of Constantinople. To the joy of the great majority of his faithful, Vladimir broke off all relations with Moscow.

I have given these few historical details to show that it was out of a

series of intrigues, manœuvres, and even changes of policy that this portion of Russian Orthodoxy has developed ; and this section certainly contains the intellectual élite among the émigrés. Yet, it is easy to see that this sinuous progress through a tangle of complicated situations has left it little time to consider its attitude towards the Catholic Church.

There is another weighty reason why the leaders of this group feel no pressing anxiety to establish contacts with Catholics. From the standpoint of doctrine, they stand far apart. The synodal Church is traditional in its thought and, on the big questions of authority, of the *magisterium* of the Church, and of what the Church really is (apart of course from the matters of the Papal primacy and infallibility), this synodal Church professes a doctrine very similar to that of Catholics. On the other hand, the Orthodox school in Paris has broken decidedly with the traditional outlook and considers it obsolete. We have, too, to consider its situation. It is exposed to strong Protestant influences ; publishes all its literature under the aegis of the Y.M.C.A. ; and is said to depend financially on the generosity of American Protestants. Therefore, its intellectual effort appears to be directed towards a free and philosophical speculation rather than to an older-fashioned theology. The late Metropolitan Eulogius never entertained the idea of a movement towards Rome ; but he did not hesitate to move towards London and had no scruples about receiving the blessing of Anglican bishops.

Some idea of the distance there is, in ideas and especially in their concept of the Church, between these two Orthodox groups may be gleaned from a very recent event. The Russian philosopher, Nicholas Berdiaev, died not long ago in Paris. As Professor at the Academy of Religious Philosophy and editor of the religious review, *Pout*, he was regarded generally in the Eulogian group as one of the outstanding Orthodox thinkers, even though certain of his opinions were thought exaggerated. But this is how the American organ of the synodal Church, *Pravoslavnaya Rouss*, referred to this distinguished writer :—

Of the dead it is customary to write *aut bene aut nihil* ; but the man who has just died has done such damage to the Russian Orthodox Church by his heretical writings that his terrible and *unrepentant* death, with a cigar in his mouth, while he was correcting the proofs of his latest heretical effusion, ought to be considered as a frightening *momento mori* for all his followers and imitators.<sup>1</sup>

Because its ideas have much in common with those of Catholics, the hierarchy of the synodal Church finds that its sympathies with the Catholic Church are on the increase. But this second Church that has chosen the nominal authority of Constantinople seems to be moving in a different and contrary direction.

This does not mean, of course, that the tendency could not be

<sup>1</sup> *Pravoslavnaya Rouss* (Orthodox Russia), No. 7, 1st to 14th April, 1948. Jordanville, N.Y.

altered and corrected. In fact, there are some more hopeful indications. In the first place, the actual head of this Church, Mgr. Vladimir, has nothing of the elusive and over-subtle character of his predecessor. In moral stature and ascetical living, as also in his grasp of doctrine and reverence for traditional views, he is a genuine *hierarch*, commanding both esteem and confidence. Then, the group has many priests, both among the older generation and the younger, educated in the theological school at Paris, whose priestly lives and apostolic zeal are indeed an encouraging model. Further, it is not true that the professors of this theological school are all modernists and innovators; one can detect a growing trend of opinion favouring a return to a more traditional position.

Accordingly, it is no matter for surprise that even with members of this Church Catholics are making contact. The contacts are, for the most part, individual—between priests and scholars with mutual sympathies. Every now and then can be discovered a more official sign of the desire for rapprochement: witness the recent visit of the Auxiliary Bishop of Paris, Mgr. Beaussart, to the Orthodox theological school in the Rue de Crimée, where he was received with all the liturgical honours which the Orthodox Church reserves for bishops.

(III). What I have said about the Orthodox hierarchy in Western Europe could be applied more or less to the Orthodox Church in North America. This is directed by the Metropolitan Theophilus, with this notable difference, however, that its intellectual level is far inferior to that of the Orthodox group in Paris. In the United States the atmosphere which the Orthodox encounter is largely a Protestant one, with the result that they are establishing contact with Protestants rather than with Catholics. There is no evidence that this autocephalous or independent Orthodox group feels a desire for rapprochement with Rome. But, to the credit side, it manifests no hostility, is not anti-Catholic, and certain Orthodox prelates have expressed their appreciation of American Catholicism. This does not, of course, take us far.

(IV). There would be little point in describing other Orthodox groups outside of Russia, such as the autocephalous Church in Poland, now fallen from its one time splendour, or groups of doubtful "orthodoxy", such as the autocephalous Church of the Ukraine, whose priestly and episcopal orders might even be called into question.

But this should be said. The division of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad into several groups has had very bad consequences for the religious life of the Orthodox. Normally, the faithful do not bother much about these divisions but go generally to the priest whom they know or to the nearest Orthodox church. But it has proved fatal to ecclesiastical organization and to good administration. What a temptation it is for a disgruntled or somewhat unstable priest to transfer

from one jurisdiction to another, where he knows—here is the difficulty—he will be welcomed with open arms! Recently, in a large city in South America, an archpriest suspended by his bishop, passed over with his congregation to the rival jurisdiction which proceeded to proclaim that the crown of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Americas had now been enriched with a new and precious pearl, of which it was long in need. Items of this sort—and they have occurred frequently—are not calculated to strengthen discipline and the principle of authority.

This division between various Orthodox groups reduces the significance of contacts between Orthodox and Catholics. A rapprochement between one group and the Catholic Church would not indicate a common movement inside Orthodoxy. In the same way, if one day reunion or union became practicable, this would not be with the Orthodox Church, as a whole, for that does not in effect exist, but only with one fraction, or, at best, with several fractions of that Church,

#### THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN RUSSIA

It is of course well known that at the epoch of the Bolshevik revolution a large measure of anarchy reigned within the Russian Church, and that this movement of disintegration was encouraged by the Bolsheviks. In addition to the hierarchy which remained loyal to the Patriarch Tikhon, various sects emerged, calling themselves Orthodox and assuming titles such as "Church of the Renewal" and "Living Church". However, since the close of the second World War, the strong hand of the Soviet Government has done its best or worst to unify the Russian Church and has liquidated these dissident religious bodies. Only the official Orthodox Church has the right to continue. It has been accorded generous privileges but at the price of complete subservience to the Russian Government.

Under such circumstances, it would be idle to expect any gesture, however slight, of rapprochement with Rome. Or, should such a gesture be made, it would be immediately suspect as dictated to the Church authorities by the Kremlin for some political motive.

In any case, there is little chance of such a gesture. It is not probable that the masters of Russia would encourage the Russian Church to make contacts of the kind. They know full well that their materialist ideology has no more definite and powerful adversary than the faith and spiritual vitality of the Catholic Church. And for this reason they attack and abuse the Church unceasingly, unleashing against what they term Roman "fascism" and against the very person of the Holy Father one of their most virulent of propaganda campaigns.

The Russian Church has to march in step. One has heard the leaders of that Church, even the Patriarch himself, exalt Stalin to the skies as the "sublime chief" who is the greatest and most genuine

incarnation of the spirit of Russia and at the same time denounce the Pope as an ally of Hitler and the lacquey of Mussolini.

This is a sorry condition of affairs, and it certainly makes the pious Orthodox feel ashamed, just as it offends our sense of what is reasonable and decent. But, on this point, I would like to make one observation.

To be fair, we must judge the conduct of these Orthodox prelates, not solely from our point of view, as we sit comfortably installed in the armchairs of our liberties, but with some realisation of the dilemma with which they are confronted. Certainly, they are subject to the State, and well they know this; and in their consciences, this can scarcely be a happy thought. But could they have acted otherwise? Have remained in a gallant attitude of opposition? That might have been to condemn their Church to death: for, after twenty-five years of persecution and militant atheism, with the youth of Russia 'liberated' from religious influence and with no assistance from outside, Christianity was threatened with extinction throughout Russia, that is over a vast area, one sixth of the land surface of the globe. Was it not better, even at the cost of cruel concessions, to purchase a condition of semi-liberty which would let them save whatever was capable of being saved in Russia? This was the opinion of Sergius, then Metropolitan and afterwards Patriarch, and it must not be forgotten that the initiative came from him. Even though the moral personality of the present Patriarch, Alexis, has been called in question, there is no doubt at all that Sergius, his predecessor, was a true and loyal Churchman, and that his only motive in these concessions was that of the spiritual interests and welfare of souls. Whether his judgment was sound, is another matter, but it would ill become us to pass hasty verdicts. Should we feel inclined to criticise, let that criticism be not pharisaical, on the disdainful assumption that we would never have stooped so low, but rather fraternal—the sentiment of such as have the power to comprehend and share the humiliation of their brethren.

Naturally, we are pained and hurt to discover that these Orthodox bishops, who have chosen the path of State subservience as the lesser of two evils, should echo the Soviet official propaganda in its attacks upon the Catholic Church. We ought perhaps not be surprised. For after all, Catholicism has always been presented to the Russian mind as a religion of foreigners, associated with the enemies of Russia, and consequently, a religion with which the Russian need not feel great concern. Let this be said, not to justify but partially to explain an attitude that to us is painful and un-Christian.

However, it may be said that the aggressive anti-Catholicism of the official representatives of the Orthodox Russian Church does not correspond to their innermost convictions. It is an official attitude imposed on them by secular authorities. And this permits the thought that, were they liberated from this heavy servitude to the Soviet Government, they would react in a very different way and speak quite another language.

Nor is this conclusion just pious and wishful thinking. Several indications—not numerous but culled from various quarters—let us glimpse the genuine features of the Russian Church, which are in striking contrast to the official mask that Church must wear. There have been occasions, during the tours of Orthodox prelates to which noisy publicity was accorded in Soviet propaganda, when these Orthodox bishops have come into private and personal contact with Catholic bishops. The cordiality of tone, the sincerity of speech, the frank interchange of idea and grievance—all these have shown that these prisoners can look through and round the iron curtain which encircles not only the land and economy of Russia but the Russian Church as well. Will they not dream in secret of a day of liberation, impossible maybe for the moment, but possible under Providence through the joint prayer of East and West?

In the autumn of 1946, an Orthodox bishop travelled from the Soviet Union to Paris on one of these spectacular tours. He gave a sermon in a Russian church in the *banlieue*, and the subject he treated was the relation of the Orthodox Church with other Christian churches. He did not hesitate to speak in the first place of the Catholic Church and in accents of great reverence and comprehension. "The Catholic Church" he declared "is, like our own, a vehicle of the grace of God".

It is not transitory contacts of this sort and chance sentences that can decide the problem of union or reunion. But they do warn us against judging a Church exclusively from the official statements of its leaders, wrung from them in circumstances of acute distress.

I have alluded briefly to other Orthodox communities which maintain a secret existence in Russia, side by side with the official Church. By their heroic fidelity to older traditions and their refusal to remain within an official Church that they consider to have been defiled by its submission to an atheist secular Power, they incarnate a very lofty moral ideal and bear witness to the reality of spiritual ideas among a people, who for more than a generation have been officially and ruthlessly educated in materialism.

It is clearly impossible even to give a rough estimate of the number of these faithful Christians or to fix the regions where they are most in evidence. Had we the knowledge, it would be more prudent not to pass it on. But we confess that we do not possess it. However, it is evident it is far more widespread than one had thought and that, even if its services are not honoured by the attendance of officials from the Kremlin, it stands in high esteem among true Orthodox believers and, supposing the situation in Russia to be altered, it might well appear after liberation as the one, legitimate and heroic Russian Church.

Can one talk, in the case of this section of Russian Orthodoxy, of relations with Rome or of any desire for contact? The question might seem absurd, and there is no evidence for any definite reply.

I know very well what a delicate matter it is, and almost a presump-

tion, to dwell in few words upon the intimate psychology of a whole people and that the religious reactions of individuals may be highly diverse. I know also that the soul of this people, when it emerges from an intellectual yoke which is unparalleled in human experience, may seem to stagger and hesitate to begin with and that its first and too hasty judgments may have later to yield to other verdicts, sounder and more consistent. But, none the less, one fact should be observed. Among refugees who have recently come from Russia and who refuse to return to the Soviet Union, it has been noticed that there is a complete lack of prejudice against the Catholic Church. Many of them appear instead—because of their aversion from an official Church that has come to terms with the Soviet Government—to be willing to join the Catholic Church, whose attitude to the Soviet ideology is similar to their own. Is it legitimate to argue that, on the far side of the iron curtain, similar causes are having like effects? May not the very fact that the Catholic Church is violently insulted and impugned by the Communist Party and by the Orthodox clergy that has attuned itself to Communist propaganda, awaken a real sympathy for these Christian brethren of the West, who have merited these attacks of Stalin and his agents?

I offer this query, without pretending to provide an answer. None the less, I do think that, were the present system of Russia to be altered and its Government overthrown, a Christian state of mind of this sort, could it become general, would be a most important factor in the religious life and outlook of the Russia of to-morrow.

PHILIPPE DE RÉGIS.

(*To be continued*)

### SHORT NOTICE

#### LITURGICAL

The **Four Witnesses** (The Grail : 5s. n.) are, simply, the four Evangelists, giving each his account of the Passion and Death of our Lord ; these are followed by extracts from the same four writers concerning the Resurrection. The paper and printing are first rate : there are eleven illustrations in black and white by B. de Bezer. The first of these (the Rending of the Temple-Veil) is almost wholly symbolical : the rest are stylised, yet terribly realist. For a long time, the danger may have been for sermons on the Passion to be rhetorical and emotional : painting and sculpture, however, have become so conventional and discreet as to pass almost un-noticed. The altar itself has risked becoming, too often, a shelf in front of an elaborate reredos, or the base of a throne for the Monstrance. Yet the Crucifix above it is meant to recall the Sacrifice for which alone the altar exists. But as a rule, who notices—often, among the glitter, who can even detect—the Crucifix? But if, on entering a church, you saw a real man nailed to two planks, you would take months to recover from it. There is, then, a place for realism, however terrible. We dare not, then, be too dainty to shirk these relentless drawings, in which the realism exists, after all, to drive home a fact which is also a doctrine.

## CALDERON: OUR CATHOLIC SHAKESPEARE

“**L**ESSER than Shakespeare in as much as his art is restricted to the representation or poetic expression of temporary and accidental phases of manners”, is the opinion of an English critic. “Greater than Shakespeare in as much as he dared to show humanity in the light of its heavenly origin and destiny”, is the opinion of a German critic, Richard von Kralik.

How is it that Calderon who, according to the best critics, is one of the greatest of European poets, has fallen, at least in English-speaking countries, into comparative oblivion? We can account for this only by the fact that the Reformation wishing to sweep away all traces of Catholicism, did its utmost, in our country, to ignore and belittle that great Spanish culture of which Calderon was the most able exponent.

Calderon can be better compared to the Greek poets than to Shakespeare, for like theirs, his drama sprang out of the intense religious and national life of a people, and attained through this inspiration a summit of perfection not otherwise reached. To quote Kralik once more : “The drama of the world has reached but twice the pinnacle of perfection, once in the Attic drama of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and once in the religious plays of Calderon”. There are many grounds on which Calderon can be compared to the Greeks, not the least of which is his perfection of poetic diction. Calderon, however, is one of the most difficult poets to criticize : because of the immensity of ground covered by his work ; because of the strange mixture of realism and idealism in his plays, because of the subtlety and delicacy of his form, and lastly because of the immense paradox of genius which lodged in the soul of this humble priest. No other European poet has the ardour of Calderon, a burning almost Oriental ardour, and this is allied with a power of calm reasoning, with a fundamentally objective outlook, in which he calmly measures the things of time and of eternity. In him the wildest phantasy is united with the sharpest thought, the loftiest idealism with the accurate observance of the meanest facts of human life. This is a Spanish trait common to all great Spanish artists. Murillo is the same great artist whether he paints a Madonna, or a vermin-infested beggar boy ; Calderon is the same great poet whether he describes the strivings of a saint, or the intrigues of a frivolous woman ; whether he gives expression to the deepest philosophic thought, the subtle sallies of wit, or to the realism of vulgar humour. No other dramatist perhaps has ever ventured to put before a people the whole gamut of the religious, ethical, psychological and merely human aspects of life. In one thing only is Calderon not paradoxical, in being always true to his higher ideals ; he is perhaps the only poet who knew how to eliminate all baser elements from his plays, and to clear in the fountain of his own

brain the muddied streams that flow through human life. Sublime in his religious thought, lofty in his heroic conceptions, refined in his realism, restrained in his humour, there is nothing in the vast mass of this poet's work to scandalize the morally censorious, or offend the literary taste of the fastidious.

However mystically elevated, the thought expressed by Calderon is always clear, and however realistic the matter, the language is always pure. He is never hasty or obscure, never coarse or obscene. His images are always true, his metaphors always original, he never falls into feebleness or puerility. The only faults that we can discover in his work as a dramatist are the lightness of his plots, and the over idealization of his heroes. This latter fault was a deliberate reaction against certain degrading elements which had crept in with the decadence of the Spanish stage. Taken chiefly from the court milieu in which he lived, his plots, it is true, are mostly slight, and although he could imbue the most trivial theme with the force of actuality, this choice creates a certain monotony and the impression of lack of breadth. That he might have allowed himself the largest canvases is proved by his *Alcalde de Zalamea*. Even in his historical plays Calderon makes use of no epoch-making event, or contemporary historical happenings. The only historical play of his own times is *El Sitio de Breda*, and here he had personally assisted at the taking of the fortress of Breda.

To choose a slight motif or plot and weave round it the subtlest, finest web of thought, or phantasy, or humour, a web so fine that not a thread could be broken without spoiling the whole, this was the special art of Calderon. With the slightest plot his genius could accomplish the almost impossible, uniting the most likely events with the liveliest phantasy, the real with the fabulous, the heroic with the reasonable, and the lofty with the popular. The slightness of the plots in his secular plays is, however, amply balanced by the vast schemes of his religious dramas, and it is chiefly on these that his renown is based. If no other dramatist can so delight his spectators by the delicate psychology and graceful humour of his secular plays, no other has known so well in religious drama how to lift his audience to a super-human plane, and transport them into the vast world of the spirit.

Calderon, like Spenser, might be called the poet's poet, for his genius has always attracted and impressed poets, many of whom have translated portions of his works : Shelley, Corneille, Quinault, Eichendorff, Grillparzer, Fitzgerald, have all attempted to translate Calderon, and often with singular success, in spite of the immense difficulty of Spanish verse. In our day men of such different calibre as Hofmannsthal and Feuchtwanger have also ventured upon this labour of translation.

Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca was born on January 1st, 1600, in Madrid ; he was a Castilian. His father was of noble family but fallen on evil days. On his mother's side there was Flemish blood. He was educated at the Jesuit college in Madrid and became early

acquainted with the Jesuit drama, the well-balanced structure of which left a lasting impression on his work. He wrote his first play when he was thirteen. He studied at the University of Salamanca, devoting himself chiefly to mathematics and philosophy, but already at nineteen he had made a name for himself as a playwright. Although at the height of his literary ambition, when he was twenty-five he went to serve as a soldier in Flanders, and it was then that he wrote *El Sitio de Breda*, which appeared shortly afterwards on the Madrid stage. Called back by Philip IV, who was an ardent patron of the arts and devoted to the stage, Calderon had to leave the pursuit of arms and return to Madrid, where he was appointed director of the court stage and of its dramatic festivals. In 1630, he returned to military service, with the Duke of Alvarez in Catalonia, but worked with unabated activity for the stage when he came back to Madrid. In 1651 he was ordained priest. The king gave him a chaplaincy in Toledo, but soon recalled him to Madrid, wishing to have the poet always in his immediate neighbourhood. Even as a priest, Calderon did not cease to write for the court stage, but in his latter years he devoted himself chiefly to the writing of religious plays. In these he could express his ardent faith and simple Christian piety. His last drama, *Hado y Deviso*, was written in 1681. Probably no writer's activity ever stretched over so long a period.

We know but little of Calderon's life except that it was quiet and retired. Is it possible that this man who knew how to describe with such ingenuity every passion of the human heart should have escaped unscathed from these storms of human feeling which he, better than another, knew how to depict? Did he never experience the pangs of love, of fear, of jealousy, of human ambition, which he describes so admirably? We do not know. His friend and biographer, Vera Tasis, speaks only of his virtues: "He was clothed with the rarest of virtues and his house was the refuge of the needy and the poor. His whole being was most reasonable, his humility most deep, his modesty most remarkable . . . he gave to every one his honour and due, he never steeped his pen in gall to wound others, or replied to calumny with libel". Another biographer says of him "that his censure was never bitter, his counsel never burdensome, his teaching never censorious".

The great variety of elements which are fused together in Calderon's work give a certain picture of his individuality. We find in them a grasp of the purest spirituality, united to a keen observation of worldly circumstances, a fervid imagination allied to searching critical thought, a healthy realism and profound knowledge of the labyrinths of the human heart, joined with the loftiest idealism. He had the poet's love of earthly beauty, but he could understand a beauty not of this earth, and could enter into that asceticism that despises all things earthly. He was not only a great poet, he was a fervent Christian. Of the perfection of his poetic form, the strength of his metre, the delicacy of

his verse, only those who know Spanish perfectly can speak, but all the best critics agree that his poetic style is unsurpassed.

Calderon was a prolific writer and he wrote over a period of more than sixty years. In Hartzenbusch's edition of Calderon's works, the number of pieces given is 122; other editions give a still larger number.

Calderon's works may be divided in the following manner:

Religious dramas of which there are sixteen. Among these are his most famous plays: *The Constant Prince*, which gives a picture of the very flower of Spanish faith and chivalry; *The Wonderworking Magician*, translated by Fitzgerald; *Life is a Dream*; *The Devotion to the Cross*.

Historical Tragedies to the sum of nineteen. Of these the most famous is *Alcalde de Zalamea*.

Twenty-four plays derived from mythology and knightly romance.

Sixteen tragi-comedies (romantic), among others *La Niña di Gómez Ares*.

Twenty-five comedies of intrigue, among others *La Doña Invisibile*, translated by Homannsthal, and produced in recent years in Germany. This play has been translated into English, as *Fairy Lady*.

Several minor pieces, Farces, Interludes, etc.

Seventy-two *Autos Sacramentales*.

These latter being unique of their kind are perhaps the best known of Calderon's works, at least among Catholics.

Even before Calderon, Spain had produced much religious drama. It sprang from the intense faith of the Spanish people, and from their love of the stage, on which they liked to see the things of faith made vivid and spectacular.

In the sixteenth century, during the Counter Reformation, and after the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the Eucharist was clearly defined, religious feeling concentrated on the mystery of the Eucharist, which had been attacked by the Reformers. In Spain, where Catholicism had its deepest roots, the feast of Corpus Christi was kept as a national festival, and it was for this festival that the *Autos Sacramentales* were written. During the octave of the feast of Corpus Christi all the theatres were closed, with the exception of those which gave religious plays. The simple religious folk-plays which were at first given were followed in time by the *Farsas Sacramentales*, which had more direct reference to the Eucharist; but it remained for Calderon to give to the sacramental play that unique, pure, and perfect form, which was to make it immortal as a work of art.

To translate the supernatural into the natural, to lend to the abstract all the warmth and reality of the concrete, to give to the workings of the mind and the things of pure reason, an attractive and easily grasped form, to bring the highest down to the comprehension of the lowest; this is what Calderon accomplished in these religious plays. He brought to the writing of them a thorough knowledge of theology, a vast amount of learning and culture, all the wealth of his own subtle mind and ardent phantasy, and an exhaustive knowledge of the work-

ing of the stage. An English critic says of them "that nothing can surpass the riches of invention displayed in these *autos*". It is impossible to sum up the genius that went to the making of these one-act plays : the intensity of faith, the knowledge of man and of the world ; the whole cosmos of Catholic thought and life of which they are the expression.

Built up upon Catholic dogma, impregnated with that mysticism which is a feature of Catholic worship, the *Autos Sacramentales* are among the chief treasures of Catholic art, and yet no heretic or unbeliever can deny their literary value, or fail to appreciate the poetic wealth displayed in them. Lending to Catholic dogma an outward sensible form, they hold in themselves the visible and invisible worlds, and gather into one great parable natural and supernatural problems. Every dogma and group of dogmas is used, enlightened, ritualized, and brought into a synthesis converging towards the central dogma of the Eucharist. Created out of the reality of faith, they have succeeded in making this faith spectacular, and are a grand example in literature of dogma being made the pivot round which drama revolves. They cover the whole field of the Old and New Testaments, and in them we find Catholic thought and world history, allegory and symbol, Christian legend and ancient mythology, spiritual ideals and commonplace facts, all blended together with consummate skill. The immense success of these *autos* in their day was due perhaps to the fact that they sprang out of a wonderful unity of faith and outlook ; for they were written at a time when faith and knowledge were still in harmony. Calderon's genius knew how to make these religious plays popular with all classes. He was great enough to bridge the gulf between the intellect and the heart of the people, he knew how to meet collective taste and the religious psychology of the masses ; he understood how to merge the spiritual in the emotional and affective.

Since the Calderon revival in recent years many of the plays of this poet have been produced in Germany and Austria, also in Switzerland. The *Kammerspiel* in Munich has given several of his comedies. *The World Stage*, a religious play, slightly different from the *autos*, was presented at one of the Salzburg festivals, and has also been played several times in Einsiedeln. *The Mystery of the Mass*, the most beautiful perhaps of all the *Autos Sacramentales*, and translated by Richard von Kralik, was produced in Vienna before the Imperial Court on the occasion of the Eucharistic Congress in 1912, and afterwards in different cities ; it had an immense success.

Whether this Calderon revival will ever attain the proportions desired by its promoters remains to be seen. The world of this great Spanish poet, that world of faith, and chivalry, and romance, is so far removed from our world of to-day as to make the issue doubtful ; but with that renewal of Catholic life to which we all and anxiously look forward, a revival of Catholic art is most earnestly demanded, and with it a due appreciation of "our Catholic Shakespeare".

A. N. RAYBOULD.

## SATAN AND ALL WICKED SPIRITS

NOVEMBER necessarily recalls to us All Saints, and all the Holy Souls in Purgatory. And a recent volume of the *Etudes Carmélitaines*, uncompromisingly called "Satan" (Desclée de Brouwer : pp. 666—! grim coincidence? or a caustic sense of humour?), suggests that one would only be fair all round if one gave at least a side-glance to those whom the prayer after Mass calls "Satan and all wicked spirits".<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the epistle for the 21st Sunday after Pentecost is from the 6th chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians, in which St. Paul says that we are to take up the 'panoply of God'—a word used also by his friend St. Luke—every item of the military equipment with which God provides us, and arm ourselves thus against all the 'methods' of the Devil : the word does not mean, as such, the 'ambushes' or tricks of the devil—though his system is habitually that of a trickster. St. Paul then says that our struggle (his word does often mean 'wrestling') : but the metaphor is clearly drawn from a fight between two heavily-armed combatants) is not—i.e. is not only, or primarily—against flesh and blood (i.e. against human adversaries) but against "the lordships, the powers, the world-masters of this darkness, against the spiritual things of evil in the sky-ey (places)" (vv. 11, 12). The translation is deliberately literal, and so, awkward. In Col., i. 13, St. Paul speaks of the Power of the Dark, i.e. the power wielded by the Dark : and our Lord Himself says to those who came to arrest Him : "This is your hour, and the power of Darkness" (Lk. xx. 53), i.e., the moment when the Dark can exert its power without interference. In Ephesians, ii. 2, St. Paul alludes to the "Lord of the power of the air", which does not mean, I think, the power wielded *by* the air (see below), but a power of the quality which he here attaches to what he means by 'the air', i.e., a superhuman, sky-ey power, or at least, which resides *in* the "air". It is then clear that St. Paul is asserting the existence of Spirits hostile to God and therefore to ourselves : that he is speaking of them in a 'popular' way : and that he is doing so because he possesses no 'scientific angelology' which would enable him to do otherwise.

That he is asserting the existence of such spirits needs no argument.

<sup>1</sup> "Who *wander* through the world . . ." may not be a perfect translation of *pervagantur*. "Wander" suggests a sort of aimless drift, proper to sentimental songs or caravanners who roam freely around leaving cigarette-cartons (if any) among the heather under the big blue dome. Evil spirits are anything but aimless. Certainly the idea suggested by the Latin *vagari* is a restlessness due to homelessness—the fate of the wicked spirit in Matthew xii and Luke xi ; but these evangelists in reality say just that the evil spirit 'goes through' waterless places : the last thing it wants to do is to stop there. The Latin may suggest a *restless pervasiveness* and perhaps the multiplicity of evil spirits : 'pervade' or 'permeate' might be too literary for a public prayer : and 'haunt the whole world', too romantic : so also 'who flock through—who go thronging through the whole world'. I picture to myself a ubiquitous invasion of poisonous mosquitos—diaphanous, yet more solid than some mephitic exhalation.

But in popular parlance super-human spirits were said to dwell 'in the air', that is, our earthly atmosphere, and to be in some sense themselves 'airy'. (A word below about their dwelling in desert places.) Within the period of classical Greek, a distinction was made between that pure 'æther' within which the gods lived : and the 'air', filled with mists and clouds, which we breathe. Judaism itself pictured 'spirits' as inhabiting the 'air', a gross and murky world compared with God's abode, even though rarified and translucent compared with our terrestrial home. Indeed, it seems inevitable that the human mind should picture what is good as above us, and what is evil, as lower : an evil spirit, so far as it is spirit, can hardly but be imagined as higher than the bodies proper to earth ; though so far as it is evil, it can also be pictured as living in the 'abyss' below the earth.

But when it comes to *naming* these spiritual beings, St. Paul piles up vague impressive abstract names—see too Colossians, i. 16 : "in (Christ) were created all things in the heavens and on the earth, things visible and things invisible, be they Thrones or Lordships or Rulers or Powers" : in Ephesians i. 21, he says that God enthroned His Son "high above all Rule and Power and Might and Lordship" (that can be made mention of whether in this world or the world to come) : and in Colossians, ii. 15, he says that by His saving death upon the Cross our Lord "stripped the Rulers and the Powers and made an open display of them, triumphing over them in His own person". (Slightly different translations are possible but the above seems tolerable : but see too 1 Corinthians xv. 24). Here the picture can hardly be other than that of a triumphal procession with captives led behind the Conqueror. But it is obvious that our Lord does not triumph over *good* spirits, even if it be supposed that the Colossians were already embarked on a cult of angels (such as became common very soon afterwards and received e.g. among the Gnostics an immense elaboration), so that our Lord's all-sufficient self-oblation could be considered as a getting rid even of good angels who were being misconceived as all but demi-gods and playing a part in man's redemption. Aware that there are many other opinions, yet I think that St. Paul uses these great super-human titles as applying to powerful spirits, good *or* evil, and does *not* indicate any special separate function whereby e.g. a Throne can be contrasted with a Princedom ; and most certainly that he is *not* making any exhaustive list of sorts of spirits forming a hierarchy, any more than he meant e.g. to make an exact catalogue of the Fruits or Gifts of the Holy Ghost. There has always been an itch to force virtues, vices, super-imposed 'heavens', and so forth, into such catalogues : with regard to the 'nine choirs of angels', however, any consistent patristic tradition is so totally lacking that we need not try to detect them in St. Paul.

That a perfect hierarchy, or 'order', does, however, exist in the 'heavenly' world, is certain, because God cannot be other than the

source of Order, and even we, who are sinful, and, being body-soul, are on the outermost fringe of the spiritual world, try at least intermittently to produce some semblance of order in our affairs. But what that order within the heavenly world may be, we do not know, nor can those very few names which are to be found in the Scriptures really help us, for even 'Michael'—"Who is like to—can compare with—God?" indicates an attitude of worship and subordination (as contrasted with the devil's "I will not serve": and parodied in the Apocalypse by the cry : "Who is like to the Beast?") and is not a personal name in our sense. That when witches or devil-worshippers in relatively modern times professed to know a number of demons by name and were answered when they thus invoked them, need not surprise us: for an evil spirit is cynical enough to respond to any human folly and would reply by whatever name we were silly, or conceited, enough to call it.

And now to this book. An excellent chapter in "Satan" is by A. Lefèvre, S.J., which shows that we should err if we thought that even in the Old Testament the 'demoniac beasts', let alone Illnesses and Death, are *always* and *only* to be regarded as personifications or allegorisations, though superstition and magic were always intertwined with true belief and genuine worship: again, a sinful man is 'a' Satan, an Adversary, without being in any sense 'possessed': there are, too, wholly discarnate spirits who have chosen to sin.

This subject is magnificently developed by Prof. H. I. Marrou, professor of Ancient Christian History in the Sorbonne. He rightly laments our actual disregard of evil spirits, but sees in it part of the weakening of our belief in any sort of spirit—how far more intense was the medieval cult of Angels, Guardian-angels included, than ours is! At the opposite extreme is the false view, or sentiment, of those for whom the Devil is a sort of Anti-God, a sort of subsistent Evil, as God is All-Good. No. The devil is a fallen angel, but remains an angel, separated by the whole of his creatureship from the Creator. It is amazing how the dualist tendency perpetuated itself, derived no doubt, so far as Europe goes, more directly from Persia and through Manicheans than through other channels. Hence we welcome two very valuable articles, one on Mazdean Dualism by P. de Menasce, O.P. and H. C. Puech's much fuller one, "The Prince of Darkness in his kingdom", dealing with the prolongation of this in the very flexible system of the Manichees. But we must regretfully insert here our feeling that this volume has attempted too much. Had it dealt with nothing but the purely historical belief in a devil or devils, it would already have been overloaded. The two articles just mentioned are preceded by an excellent one by Fr. J. Henninger, S.V.D., on "The Adversary of the Good God among 'Primitives'", but also by a shorter one concerning the rôle of demons as preventing conversions from paganism, chiefly dealing with two inconclusive examples belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries: and the last article in this 'his-

torical' section is by L. Massignon, on the Iblis-worshippers (the name Iblis is descended from *diabolos*) among the Mohammedan Kurds.

But there is not nearly enough in these highly specialized articles to enable us to get a proper synthesis of beliefs in devils or demons especially in the Far East ; though there is an admirable article on " Demoniac Forms" in the entire section entitled ' Forms' by G. Bazin, *Conservateur* at the Louvre Museum, which is full of fascinating suggestions and contains some enchanting pictures of Chinese devils : but certain elements which can be discerned in the Orient (not least, maybe, in Tantric Buddhism) are—so it seems to me—still more discernible in Aztec art. For here too we find not only the cult of violence and the blood-lust running up into sheer insanity, but a certain *intellectual disorder* as such : you reach the absolute opposite of Greek art : the sculptors seem unable to *finish* a thought : no pattern completes itself : form melts into form—more markedly than in China a face descends from forehead to upper lip only to start upon another face : and the author—challenging all our *intelligenzia*, to my delight—finds the modern version of this cult of the chaotic in not a few paintings by Picasso : they are " attacks on the *chef-d'œuvre* of Creation " (Man) ; the artist presents us with human faces shattered as by some high explosive—the fragments are put together by no other law than that of incongruity : " these grinning puzzles are perhaps most typical expressions of that chaotic discontinuity that hates all unity, which seems to us the very essence of the demoniac ' style '." Stylised chaos : such is the modern paradox, reflecting itself in the *method* in which unheard-of cruelties have been organized in our wars—unheard-of, that is, unless we hark back to those blood-drunk eras alike in East and West.

This section continues with a study of the ' devil ' according to Dante, Balzac, the Romantics (1850–70), Gogol and Dostoievsky, and contemporary literature, where we meet with Gide, Valéry, Bernanos and indeed Graham Greene (here is the interesting suggestion that if one theological virtue somehow goes wrong and becomes hypertrophied, it draws after it the atrophy of the others—thus Pinkie's entralling faith (in " Brighton Rock ") in sin and hell dries up his charity : Scobie's perversion of ' charity ' into ' pity ' (in " The Heart of the Matter ") desiccates his ' hope ', but the commentator is careful to indicate that the novelist pronounces no final verdict on the fate of the soul ; and Denis de Rougemont's *La part du diable* published in the U.S.A. during the war.

But the introductory essay in this section really sends us back to that which introduces the whole section called " Therapeutic ", which follows one on Possession and Exorcism, for here too we find drawings—in this case, by children : the article is by a lady-psychanalyst, Dr. Françoise Dolto , and like the next two—" The Archtype of the

Triple S : Satan-Serpent-Scorpion ", and " Dream-Demons " (both by lady-doctors) it completely baffles me, so charged are they all with specialist dialect and what seem to me ' assumptions '. Here I feel that if we are to have *any* of this, we ought to have *much more* of it, and much more definition of terminology if the ' lay ' reader is to follow and appreciate.

On the other hand, M. A. Frank-Duquesne has written a real book (pp. 179-314) entitled " Reflections on Satan in connection with (*en marge de la*) the Judaean-Christian tradition ". He is described as an ' autodidact ' : his erudition is certainly enormous : maybe some of his statements are too dogmatic or again slightly ambiguous (as about our Lord's Temptation) : but the substantial value of his work is ensured by its inclusion in this carefully considered volume.

More directly philosophical is the section entitled " The Death of God ", by Paulus Lenz-Medoc, by which is meant not only the secularisation of society and the ' liquidation of Christianity ', the remote ancestor of which the author sees in Leibnitz, but the definite wish to make an end of God which he traces through Hegel, Heine and others to Nietzsche in particular. But because of the *horror vacui* that this tendency (combined with a materialistic science already rather out-of-date) produces, he is able to explain a certain return towards the ' spiritual ' which may be opening the door once more to Faith. Purely theological is the long essay by Fr. Philippe de la Trinité, O.C.D., on " The Sin of Satan, and the Destiny of the Spirit ". This is in great part a very courteous discussion involving Fr. de Lubac's interpretation of St. Thomas, and very firmly insisting that neither men nor angels need have been called to the beatific vision of God and that the angels could have sinned even had they not been thus called. But none of this discussion of how an angel *could* sin explains the mystery of why any angel actually *did* sin ; how and why he succeeded in injecting into himself that ' negative ' admixture which evil is. In a sense, the worse you are, the less you are : it is admitted that so long as an element of ' being ' subsists in the Devil himself, he cannot be absolutely evil ; were he so, he would have ceased to exist. For a disciple of Origen, it would be possible for God so to guide an evil spirit into being so true to himself—i.e. to his evilness, his ' No ' opposed to God's eternal ' Yes '—that he would be, not destroyed (for God to *destroy* anything that He had once made and preserved would be a defeat), but brought to a sort of inverted consummation ; a ' Nothing in nothingness ', even as God will be " All in all ".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In reviews of Mr. Graham Greene's " Brighton Rock " mentioned above, ' Pinkie ' is always regarded as a horribly evil character. He is obviously far less ' wicked ' than Mr. Colleoni who, however, is so lightly sketched in comparison that we can disregard him here. Yet it is above all the sense of something *lacking* that I derive from Pinkie. This 17-year-old boss of adult gangsters—therefore, an alarming personality in some way—is first and foremost *ignorant* of the real world and aware of this interior emptiness ; and secondly, *frightened* (fear being the ' denial of the succours of thought '), and his *hatreds* are really the product

Perhaps we are as unable to understand ‘nothingness’ properly as we are to comprehend God. The ‘consummation’ escapes us at either end. “Then, the consummation, when He (Christ) hands over the Kingdom to God, the Father, when He brings to naught all Rule and all Power and Might. For He must reign until ‘He puts all enemies beneath His feet’. The last enemy to be brought to naught is Death. For all things ‘hath He placed beneath His feet’. But when He says ‘all things’, it is clear that He is excepted who places all things beneath Him. But when all things *are* placed beneath Him, then the Son too Himself shall be placed under Him who places all things beneath *Him*—so that God may be all things in all things.” Ten times is the word ‘all’ made use of in these five verses (i Cor., xv. 24-28)—mysterious verses in all conscience! Especially as the last words are more accurately ‘all things in all things’, than an elusive ‘All in all’. St. Paul is no pantheist; yet he is forced to use words, here, that cannot but be susceptible, as they stand, of a pantheistic ring. (But so do the words used by almost any mystic.) Enough then, perhaps, to say that we cannot grasp at present the proper notion of creation from which all that is privative has been victoriously driven out—yet even that is to speak of a ‘privation’ as though it were a positive!

After all, it has been said that Satan’s cleverest trick is to make people think he does not exist. Therefore the compilers of this book were right in hardly alluding to the rather clumsy cult of Satan of which there is, perhaps, a recrudescence in our times.<sup>1</sup> Probably the ‘classical’ forms of Satan-worship of which Huysmans in *Ld-bas* provided an ugly description, are a symptom of an extreme inferiority-complex—men feel ‘big’ when doing the conventionally worst thing they know . . . defying a lightning unlikely to strike them after all, nor would they risk so much as forgery, let alone murder; it is true that such performances are proper to those who, after a long course of depravity, are not yet quite insensitive but hope for one more thrill; they may witness to psychic morbidity and even corruption; but are seldom, I surmise, a proud and genuine revolt against God and a true hatred of our Lord.

of these two negatives and not due to a knowledge of good and a positive rejection of it. He was frustrated in body—his very walk was almost mechanical: his eyes were ‘dead’—his was that ‘House without a Background’ of the old allegory, or all but so; for it is not for nothing that the author makes him intermittently haunted by the echo of that ‘Agnus Dei’ who is able to grant peace. But in few characters have I been made to feel so strongly the *negativeness* of evil—or, more accurately, that evil is a privation.

<sup>1</sup> Therefore we regret the inclusion of the last pages written by Dom A. Mager, O.S.B., a man of great merit, just before his death. Not only are they a violent anti-Hitler diatribe—he regards Hitler simply as ‘the medium of Satan’—but there is an unfortunate note on “Sir” Aleister Crowley (sic) of whom “Mr. Justice” (sic) says that he was the most foul and perverted man of Great Britain . . . and the late Mr. Harry Price is alluded to as saying that in every part of London men and women of excellent intellectual formation and of high social rank adore the Devil and pay him permanent worship. Black Magic and so forth are practised to-day in London “on a scale and flaunting a freedom unknown in the Middle Ages”. It is a pity that so serious a book should end with so wild an exaggeration so inaccurately expressed.

It remains a problem how far we should attend to the Devil and how far disregard him. M. Magny, in a masterly review of the diabolic element in contemporary literature, reminds us that who sups with the Devil must take a long spoon—we are very liable to infection. On the other hand, as we said, the Devil is only too pleased if we liquidate him—allegorise him, turn him into a collectivity of evil influences or over-concentrate on the negativity of ‘wrong’. But there are men who are so appalled by the state of the world at present, that they cannot but speak. “A fire is shut up within my bones and speak I *must*.” If they are not Catholics, they do but make confusion worse confounded : if they are, they run the risk of sliding towards Manichaeism and seeing the world almost as the prey of him who after all our Lord does call the Prince of this World, of him who offered our Lord all the kingdoms of this world—“for mine they are, and to whom I will I give them”. He does not realise his essential defeat, and indeed, if he cannot destroy, he can at least make chaos. That is it—God creates a Cosmos : the Devil seeks to splinter it once more into chaos. Of him, therefore, of this ‘Satan’, the ‘Adversary’, our Lord says two things—he is the Liar and the father of lies : and he is the murderer from the beginning. His attack is against Reality and Life. On the balance, I think it is good that writers like Mauriac, Bernanos or Graham Greene should ‘disturb our clod’, and by forcing our reluctant eyes to see what the Devil does in our contemporary world which we continue to make as comfortable as we can, should persuade us that underneath the lies and bloodshed, the moral disarray, the extreme intellectual corruption of our times it is a fallen Angel who is at work, and not any of those-Isms which we allege as his pitiable substitutes.

C. C. MARTINDALE.

#### SHORT NOTICE

##### HISTORICAL

The re-issue with additions and corrections of Father Philip Hughes’s *History of the Church*, vols. I and II (Sheed and Ward : 21s. and 25s. n.) will be useful to students. There are additions which bring the narrative into line with the results of modern research upon such questions as Manichaeism, Siger of Brabant, Photius, Hildebrand’s political ideals, and others. In view of the stress laid upon the Benedictine rule as an instrument of civilization, it is to be regretted that the author did not make room for a discussion of the recently canvassed priority of the *Regula magistri* to that of St. Benedict, while the appearance of Dr. Dvornik’s book on Photius, so hard upon the heels of this history, is to be counted an unfortunate accident of publishing which will debar Father Hughes from making use of the conclusions there set out until his third edition becomes necessary. Of course he has the substance of the new view of Photius in his additional section (II. 169–181), but there is more to be said about the affair than his summary implies.

## ARGENTINE IMPRESSIONS—V

### THE "CAMP"

A GOOD friend of mine who went to the Argentine three years ago was being entertained shortly after arrival. Said his hostess, "I'm sorry you won't be meeting my son, George. He's out in the camp". Nothing unnatural in that, although the visitor had not bargained for such early evidence of militarism. Later, the lady spoke of a niece and added, "Of course, you know, she lives out in the camp". This, thought the visitor, was a trifle curious. Were the women's services in the Argentine so well developed as all that? And wonderment deepened into mystification, as she continued, "As a matter of fact, I spend most of my time in the camp too". For a moment he had a strange vision of a large area on the pampas littered with countless marquees and tents and a large proportion of the people of Argentina—of either sex and of every age and size and shape—under more or less permanent canvas.

The mystery has, however, a simple explanation. "Camp"—a version of the Spanish *campo*—is the name the English or English speakers in the Argentine give to the countryside, and especially to farming or *estancia* land. It even becomes an adjective, and you talk of camp life or a camp man. The wide expanse of country, out of which spring the wheat and maize and alfalfa and where herds of cattle roam and pasture—that is the Argentine "camp".

Your first impression of this camp is certain to be a disappointing one. I remember on the first day I spent in Buenos Aires meeting an English lady who had called at the Sanatorio of the Little Company of Mary—better known to us perhaps as the "Blue Nuns"—who have such an admirable nursing home on the Avenida Alvear and enjoy the highest esteem. This lady had been only a few months in the Argentine. I asked her for her impressions. She was very content, on the whole; what she missed most of all was the English countryside: "here there is nowhere to walk outside the city; there is no country, in our sense". And that, so far as early impressions go, is very true.

You leave Buenos Aires, let us suppose, by car and pass through the outer suburbs. Very pleasant some of these are, and cleverly designed; houses are detached, and set in gardens amid trees; the architects have certainly had no fear of colour. The drive near the Rio de la Plata and through Olivos and Martinez towards San Isidro is very attractive. Eventually you leave these suburbs behind you and the various *pueblos* for residential or week-end purposes, and you are in the country. This is flat and open; smiling, when the sky is clear as it normally is; and given over to dairy farming. You are still within

hail of Buenos Aires, with a road network, and every now and then you have to cross a railway. It is not yet the "camp" proper. Cattle are in the fields but there are no great herds ; and they are dairy cattle, supplying the needs of the four million population of Beunos Aires and its surroundings—dairy cattle that move with a slow and lazy rhythm amid the thick grass, and conspicuous among them the large black and white cows which are known as *Holandos Argentinos* and are of Dutch or Friesian ancestry.

Reach the "camp" proper and there begins your disappointment. It is wide and open country, with little to arrest the eye ; it is bare, except where you pass near to some estancia and a careful owner has planted groves and long avenues of trees. You will find yourself longing for some bend in the road, but after the bend you have the same landscape. Over the fields hangs an air of monotone. I am speaking, mind, of *first* impressions. You will pass villages, pass *by* and not through them, for they have been built to one side of the main thoroughfare or, as likely as not, the road has been constructed around them. But—alas—they have nothing of the picturesque charm of English villages which seem to have grown out of their natural setting, in the fold of a hill or along a water's edge, rather than have been deliberately built. Villages in the Argentine are, for the most part, hastily put together and improvised—with the greatest liberty imaginable in style and material. The small towns are better for they have been regularly planned, and across open *plazas*, often adorned with pleasing and formal gardens, parish church and town hall confront one another—symbol of the relationship between State and Church. The streets criss-cross in intricate fashion till the pavement merges at last into the earth of the enveloping "camp". The main roads are good, though they require continual repairs, for they lack a solid foundation. But once you leave these roads, you are back on the age-old tracks and paths of beaten earth. These never make easy travelling and after heavy rains are well nigh impassable. A generation ago, it was an adventure, I am told, to travel by car in wet weather, from Buenos Aires to Córdoba ; there was always the chance that you would not get through at all, and the likelihood, almost the certainty, that your car would have to be dragged out of the mud by bullocks. Well, that is all changed, at least between Buenos Aires and Córdoba, but it is not in the least altered on the earthen roads through the "camp".

Passing through this countryside, you will soon be aware of two realities. The first, grain . . . grain . . . grain. To either side of the road stretch the *fields*, miles in length maybe and as broad seemingly as the horizon itself : mile after mile of wheat or maize, broken now and then by the rich green of the alfalfa (lucerne). The provinces of the Argentine which have been most developed, those nearest Buenos Aires, and especially North-North-West of the city into the adjoining provinces of Córdoba and Santa Fe—these are the great grain lands.

The wheat crop for 1946-47 was approximately 5,600,000 tons ; that for 1947-48 was even better. The maize figures for 1946-47 were 6,150,000 tons. Three quarters of a ton of grain per head—that is the proportion between cereals and human beings in this fertile land. And on top of that comes the perhaps unexpected detail that only about eleven per cent of the total area of Argentina is under agricultural cultivation.

The second reality of which you will soon be conscious is cattle . . . cattle . . . cattle. There they stand dotted around and over fields just as vast as those of wheat and maize, their black and brown and red, with an occasional touch of faint white, standing out in dull contrast to the green of pasture and the cobalt background of the sky. Black, brown and red—yes, these are the predominant colours, with the red and black catching the eye. The Argentines have made excellent use of European, and especially of British, breeds ; the best of the herds will be Shorthorn, Herefords and Aberdeen Angus ; a Criollo cow with a crumpled horn is nowadays a rarity. According to the 1946 figures there were 34,000,000 head of cattle in the Argentine—this is more than two per human head—and there were in addition some 56,000,000 sheep. As with the cattle, so with the sheep you can easily detect British influence ; among the most valued flocks are the Dorset Horn, the Hampshire Down, the Romney Marsh and the Corriedale.

These large expanses of pastoral and agricultural land mean inevitably the existence of great estancias. Oddly perhaps, they have sometimes the name of *latifundia* from an ancient Roman word, but they are generally known as estancias. Some, of course, are immense, several leagues in length and breadth, but most are smaller. In the pioneer days of the mid-nineteenth century a man or a family could occupy and start working a great stretch of country for next to no purchase price, and be thanked for doing so. And many of the wealthy *estancieros* of to-day are the descendants of the pioneers of four generations ago. These large estancia houses may be, as has been frequently remarked, what the county houses of England were prior to the World Wars, and one might gather the impression that country life in the Argentine was conservative and almost feudal in character. "Conservative"—yes ; but hardly feudal, if only for the fact that many of the *peons* or workers have a marked vagrant and nomadic strain, with the result that they move from one estancia to another, hating to fix themselves or even their families in any one spot for long. Nor must one forget the very "Latin" attitude of Argentine law, which insists upon a division of property between members of the family, and will not permit a man to leave more than, I think, twenty per cent of his property outside of his family. At the same time, the law demands that wife and children shall each receive a share of the estate. When one remembers too that Argentine families are often numerous, with eight to ten children not an anomaly, it will be seen how what were once vast

estancias have been gradually broken up into much smaller units ; sometimes, in fact, an estancia belongs not to one individual but to a whole family group. During the past two years, further inroads have been made upon the *estancieros*. Land has been bought by the Government or expropriated, sometimes for official or military reasons or for the establishment of colonies of workers. Finally, it is believed that Government policy at present does not favour any increase in the production of cattle or meat—and this is where large scale estates are most required—but wishes to encourage the production of grain, and this might be achieved just as well through farming on a smaller scale.

Were I to add a third reality to these two, it would be this time horses . . . horses . . . horses. You are conscious of them everywhere and all the time in the camp. To either side of road and railway men will be continually riding, sitting further back on the horse than would the average European and using a curiously broad saddle, stretched tightly across two long rollers, which makes the *peon* literally sit upon the horse as in a chair. He does not use his knees to ride ; it is just a matter of familiarity and balance. Nor will he *post*, when trotting ; not for that matter will he trot, in the English style. He jogs or canters ; “lope” is the term for that steady and untiring canter which these Criollo horses can maintain apparently for hours on end ; certainly they can cover distances. The horse population of the Argentine in 1946 amounted to the figure of 7,500,000—which is practically one horse for every two human beings. Without the horse camp life would be inconceivable, however many machines and tractors and jeeps might be imported. Each *peon* has one or two of his own ; the *peons* tend and herd the cattle from horseback, there is no other way ; horses move in large numbers through the fields with the cattle and pasture there like them, and neither horse nor steer needs to be stabled or stalled in that temperate and favoured climate.

I have spoken of the *Criollo* horse. This is the technical expression for the ordinary camp horse, the product of many generations of chequered life, tamed and wild, stable and nomadic, and deriving from the horses which the Spanish *conquistadores* shipped originally from the Old World to the New. No stud book contains the romantic story of their development, yet from this mongrel race has evolved a remarkably strong and steady horse, invaluable in Argentina. They are of all colours, as you might expect, but not infrequently they have great irregular splotches of brown or bay and white, which make them stand out strikingly among horses of more sombre or uniform colouring.

It was with two of these *Criollo* horses, Mancha and Gato, that Mr. A. F. Tschiffely, then a schoolmaster at St. George's College, Quilmes, some twelve miles down the Rio de la Plata from Buenos Aires, set out on his famous ride. This took him from the Argentine capital to Washington in the United States—a riding distance of 10,000 miles. Tschiffely has described his adventures in his well-known

"Tschiffely's Ride", and the sub-title speaks of it as "the Account of 10,000 miles in the saddle through the Americas from Argentina to Washington".<sup>1</sup> I think I am correct in saying that both Mancha and Gato reached the American capital, a little weary no doubt but still upright upon four legs. To Tschiffely's book R. B. Cunningham Graham has written a delightful and whimsical foreword, redolent of that human affection for the horse which our world of Europe seems gradually to be losing. Here are one or two of its paragraphs :

In the green Trapelanda, I have always thought that Providence, however hardly its judgments may bear on men, must have prepared for all the horses that have suffered here on earth, from overwork, ill-usage and neglect, as well as those so innocent and shy who in their lifetime ranged the pampas, steppes and prairies. Caesar's eight-footed horse, Pascasas, and Bucephalus will be there to welcome them. May the time be long (here his reference is to Tschiffely's horses) before they exchange their greetings, whinnying low, holding their velvet nostrils gently forward, till they touch, with their ears quivering !

I like to imagine their infinite celestial home—for our imagination can but conceive what we have known on earth, however subliminated—as a great prairie, with the wind sweeping over the perennial grasses, till they roll like waves. Pasture shall never wither there, nor lose its succulence. Water shall never fail. There shall be neither *cangrejal* or treacherous *guadal*, still less stretches of arid *sandmas* in the steppes, or poisonous *mio-mio*, to slay them cowardly. All shall be fresh and green. No winter blasts shall set their coats astare, or burning sun pour down upon their undefended heads, making the little foals seek shelter in the shadow of their dams.

No *tabanos* shall pester them at noonday, nor vampire bats suck out their blood at night, leaving them slack and listless after their attacks. The rivers shall not harbour alligators, nor shall electric eels discharge their current on them as they swim, to make them sink like lead. In shallows there shall be no *rayas* to wound their feet as they prepare to swim, nor in the woods shall any tigers lurk to pounce upon them un-awares and stun them with a stroke of their fell paws. All shall be sweet, harmless and innocent as *they* were, in their Calvary on earth. Justice, deaf, blind and futile as she has always been in this world, there shall recover sight and hearing, and the perception of the meaning of her name.

But not all the horses of Argentina are of the old Criollo type. They are of every sort, thoroughbred and those of more mingled parentage. Great pains have been taken to introduce strong and fine European strains. Race meetings are held every week throughout the season in the great course of Palermo and at San Isidro, as also at the more popular course in La Plata. Polo ponies have been so carefully bred and nurtured that those from Argentina are now the finest in the world. Britain, once the stronghold of polo outside of India, had to pass on her mantle to the United States, which in turn have had to hand it to Argentina. The reason why there was no polo in this year's Olympic

<sup>1</sup> Published by William Heinemann. Ltd., London.

Games was, chiefly, that no country could raise a polo team, capable of playing against the Argentines, who had gained the Olympic title at Berlin in 1936. Here it is time to insert another tribute—to the Irish of Argentina, for they have done more than anyone, certainly in respect of their numbers, to make Argentina the premier polo country of the world. It was players as well known in polo records as Jack Nelson, John and David Miles and Arthur Kenny (all of Irish ancestry) who, with Luis Lacey, an Englishman, swept the United States in 1924. The Olympic victors of 1936, under the captaincy of Jack Nelson, included a Cavanagh and a Duggan in addition to two of Spanish origin. The finalists in the 1947 Argentine championship, the clubs, *Venado Tuerto* and *El Trébol*, played, the former two Cavanaghs and two Alberdis and the latter, two Duggans and two Menditeguys; incidentally, the Alberdis and Menditeguys are Basques; and, be it noted finally, the name *El Trébol* is merely Spanish for "The Shamrock".

To return to the landscape of the "camp". Scenically, as I have observed, it is not very attractive—that is, at first impression. Yet its attraction grows. The atmosphere is fresh except in the heat of summer and after a long spell without rain. The air is clear, amazingly clear in the early morning and near to evening, when the twilight falls more swiftly than in the Northern countries of longer latitude which we best know. Evening hurries towards nightfall in a hushed stillness, the tiniest sounds become of a sudden audible—the bark of a dog, a mare's whinny, the flustered note of a plover. The sky darkening from cobalt to royal blue descends to meet the enshadowed earth at the horizon, and earth and sky are girdled together by a luminous band of waning light. Then the stars come out—more thickly enclustered and brighter under the Southern Cross than in our Northern hemisphere.

And by day, the interesting animal life. *Quanacas*, for instance, which further to the South run wild in herds but nearer to the capital will be kept in paddocks. They have deer-like skins and sheep-like teeth, with graceful yet sturdy necks uprising like young llamas. They have also the disconcerting habit of sending a stream of saliva in your direction, if they take a dislike to you, and another embarrassing habit of standing up on hind legs till they have a height of ten or eleven feet and jumping playfully at you. Then, ostriches, smaller than the African variety, but they can outstrip a horse in running and can be awkward customers if they fancy you have hostile intentions. Experts have told me that the Argentine ostrich is really of the Australian Emu family, and that its feet are divided into three parts, and not, like the ostrich of Africa, into two. But I must confess I have no personal evidence. I do not know how I would catch an ostrich, except it would be in the cruel manner of the *peons* who throw after it a short lasso, weighted with metal balls.

Above all is the bird life fascinating, especially when you are near to water. Flamingoes stand among the reeds on some shallow laguna, only when you approach to take to the air—ten or fifteen of them together—the delicate rose pink of their plumage glinting in the sun. Black and white *teros* or plovers start from the grass and hover, moaning and twittering, until you have passed by. The ibis and duck fly majestically overhead in serried ranks or line formation, fifty, a hundred of them at once. The birds of the field are bright with gold and green. One thing seems curious. Very few of these birds sing as do our Northern birds. Maybe this is Nature's law of compensation. Our birds are more bourgeois and sombre, in their greys and browns ; yet, they trill and warble. Their more gorgeous cousins in the New World have rarely—indeed, very rarely—the art of song.

Such is the "camp" of Argentina. It is not by any means the whole of the countryside. Indeed, there are other regions of great and varied beauty : in the far North, where the spurs of the Central Andes break in from the West, as the country rises sharply from Tucumán through Salta and Jujuy to the boundaries of Bolivia, and in the South, the district of the great lakes to either side of the mountain ranges ; and there is the blend of gay and grim, of pleasant valley and savage hillside in the vast areas of the Sierras.

But the "camp" is most typical of Argentina. It is there that lie its natural riches—a soil as fertile as anywhere in the world, its fields rolling as far as the horizon and beyond, its wealth of grain and cattle. The "camp" to-day has its problems. It could be further developed, needs wider means of transport, and has a sore need too of men. Even in so agricultural a land as the Argentine there is a drift to the towns, partly encouraged by the Five Years' Plan which seeks a greater industrialization of the country and in part the result of the rapidly increasing wages paid in cities. One *estanciero* told me that he had lost twenty-six cattle men within a year ; all had abandoned the land to find jobs in Buenos Aires. Unless this loss can be made good through the immigrants now coming in considerable numbers to the Argentine, less grain will be harvested and fewer cattle find their way to market. In this our critical age even a country as favourably blessed by Nature and geography as Argentina has its very serious problems.

JOHN MURRAY.

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#### SHORT NOTICE

Dom Romanus Rios has provided us with a valuable publication in the *Corona Sanetorum Anni Benedictini* (Monastery Press, Ramsgate : 15s. n.). It is a work of real scholarship, and the labour of compiling it must have been arduous. As the Latin title makes clear, it is a list of Benedictine Saints, Blessed and Venerables, which extends over one hundred and thirty-five pages. The Index covers twenty-two further pages in small type. To hagiographer and historian it will be invaluable, for it is anything but a mere catalogue of names.

## THE LEGACY OF EUROPE

### SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE EUROPEAN HERITAGE

THE *de facto* division of Europe into two halves, Eastern and Western, the movement for a Western Union, and the growing awareness that European problems will never be resolved except through a reintegration of Europe as a community of free peoples within a framework of European unity—all these factors compel the enquiry into just what is this significance of Europe and what it is that Europeans are called upon to maintain and defend. Is there a European heritage? If so, what are some, at least, of its elements? And how do these elements differentiate the European from other men?

I am tempted to this reflection for the additional reason that many people, particularly in England, have mistaken and misleading ideas about the making and the significance of Europe. They concentrate upon a Europe relatively modern, and this they imagine to have been created by the Renaissance or the age of "Enlightenment". They understand Europe as the Europe of the nineteenth century. Prior to the Renaissance, in their opinion, there was nothing but the "dark days" of the Middle Ages, and it has been a convenient standard of reference for the glib and unhistorical speaker to compare twentieth century atrocities with so-called "medieval barbarities", little thinking that the conduct of twentieth-century man would have horrified the ordinary man and woman of the Middle Ages.

Further, it has been the fashion to think of Europe apart from the Christianity which created Europe and to ignore altogether the crucible of medieval experience in which Europe was created.

That there is a common European legacy is evident, and it is equally evident that it has been both splendid and immense. Other civilizations have flourished in the past, those of Babylon and Egypt, and that of Crete. Yet, these have passed away, leaving few traces, and they are to-day the subject of the archæologist. Other civilizations exist in the present world, ancient and in their way rich too, such as those of India and China. But, outside their own area of development, they have exercised little influence on the world; to Western eyes and minds they appear static, hidebound by a too rigid tradition and caste or class prejudice.

The one great civilization which the world has seen is that which we term the Western, the European civilization. How massive and beautiful have been its achievements, in art and architecture and literature! Its science and adventure and discovery! Its progress in social and political thought and experiment! If this civilization were to fail, then what we have known and know as civilization would decline and perhaps entirely disappear. I do not believe that this

civilization will be lost. But endangered it most surely is—and by a new view of life, a new philosophy of man—for all civilization is founded upon a philosophy ; it is good to reflect upon its significance and value, that we may the better appreciate and maintain it.

Europe is not primarily a place. It is not so obviously a continent, marked out by the ocean on every side, as is America. It has no natural frontier to the East. It is, in fact, a part of the continent of Euro-Asia, which has been carved out of that land mass by the intelligence, the genius and the courage of men. And indeed Europe has always needed to be defended against the world beyond and to the East. The distinction recurs throughout the centuries : between Greeks and the “barbarians”, between the Roman world of the ancient Empire and what lay beyond its *limes*, between Christian Europe of the Middle Ages and the infidel to the South East and East.

It was the Greeks who first had the notion of Europe as they created the legend of the maiden, Europa. And from the Greeks has come a contribution of outstanding importance to the European heritage. Memory recalls the splendour of Greek art and of ancient Greek tragedy, one of the finest, maybe the finest, of expressions of dramatic genius ; or of the epic poetry of Greece, for the *Iliad* is the greatest of all war stories as the *Odyssey* is the most glorious of adventure tales ; or of the Greek contribution to political thinking and experiment, which in effect is the contribution of the Athenians. What is even more significant is Greek philosophy—the greatest achievement of the Greeks. That philosophy studied the problems of the human mind, gave to the ancient world its rules of thought and its reasoning methods, and elaborated a view of man and life and society which has endured, first of all through well nigh a thousand years of ancient history till the decline and fall of Imperial Rome and then, purified and ennobled in Christianity, has been that of Western man, with but few exceptions, ever since.

The earliest problem which Greek philosophers tried to formulate was a very fundamental one. That they formulated the question and the reply in simple and clumsy terms, was to be expected ; they were fumbling with a new technique. But what really concerned them was the problem of what might and indeed must lie behind the world of sense experience, if this sense experience is to have any meaning at all. The answer to this problem is found, in its most characteristically Greek form, in the thought of Plato. For him there is an essential distinction between the region of *Tà ὄντα* and the lower realm of *Tà φαινόμενα*, between a sphere of absolute reality, changeless, eternal and always valid, and the fluid, phantasmagoric universe of space and time. *There* is Being Absolute ; *here* are the shadows of phenomena, which can but reflect and mirror the realities of the higher world. Or you may find the same distinction, with a slight variation of emphasis, between *Tà ὄντα* and *Tà γιγνόμενα*, between what exists

abidingly and the things that are born and die, that become only to disintegrate and disappear.

The distinction is fundamental to Greek thought, whether we see it in the ultra-realist philosophy of Plato or in the works of Aristotle. It saved Western man from losing himself in *materialism* or in some vaguely pantheistic world.

Connected closely with this distinction is another distinction, characteristic of the Greeks. Man could enter into contact with this higher realm of *Reality* and so attain to *truth*. But how? Not by his sense experience, for that, of its very nature, was subjective and personal to himself. He must first transcend that sense experience. This he was able to do because he possessed a *mind*. This faculty of intelligence or mind enabled him to rise superior to the particular moment and place of sense experience, and to understand the experience in terms of ideas or concepts, to *know* as well as to see and feel. What he experienced through his senses was peculiar to himself; what he came to *know* through his *mind* was detached from the particular circumstances under which he had come to know it, and acquired a universal value. Man's special excellence was consequently just this possession of a rational faculty, this ability to reason and to *know*. Knowledge was possible for man; he was a rational creature.

Further, he was able to get into contact with his fellow-men because he and they shared this faculty. All were rational beings, and therefore, could exchange ideas and knowledge, at which they had arrived through the faculty common to all of them. The particular dignity of man was therefore that he lived in a world of rational beings like himself.

If man had mind and could know, the universe must be for him an object of knowledge. It could not be an incoherent system, which had happened by chance and had neither order nor significance. It also must show forth law and order; must be directed by some greater and larger Mind. The Greek felt himself at home in the world. In his eyes, the universe was essentially an ordered arrangement, in which all the parts were fitted and adapted, one to the other, and where everything was controlled by a principle of order, be this an impersonal Logos or reason or some more or less personal Providence or God. So man, himself part of this universe, could know that universe; and because the universe itself was ordered and orderly, man could pursue science and gather knowledge. From this conviction that the universe could be known came our Western ideal of science. Mind could know reality. That was the simple and far-reaching Greek equation.

This sense of order dominated the Greek mind. It is evident in their art and architecture. Their temples are so clear in outline; the columns rise up straight to the sky; the general design is geometrical, broken only by the balanced and contrasted movement of figures in

frieze and pediment. Greek statuary is finished, rounded off, *perfect* in the old Roman meaning of that word, that is, completely worked out and terminated. Besides, this sense of order showed that the Greeks were determined to overcome another element which they felt lurked under the surface of things—an element of the indefinite, the formless, which frequently became for them the element of evil. One cannot ignore the presence to the Greek outlook of this dark element—the Dionysiac as opposed to the Apolline, to employ the terminology of Nietzsche—an element which found expression in the Greek mystery cults and in plays like the *Bacchae* of Euripides. The Greeks were aware of it ; they dreaded it ; they strove to banish it. Hence in part, the clarity of outline of Greek art and the sense of finish. To the Greek mind *limit* meant perfection and excellence ; the *unlimited* was imperfect and even threatening.

Another result of this stress upon form and ideal emerges from Greek sculpture, especially from the statues of deities. The gods, as represented in Greek art, are in human form, idealised to some extent but still human ; the Greeks fashioned their gods to their own image and likeness ; they regarded these divinities as higher—and not always nobler—patterns of themselves. This was in striking contrast with the representations of gods in Egypt and Babylon, where man was evidently insignificant. The Greeks, in their relations to the gods, emphasized the significance of the individual man, and this sense of the importance of the individual was based upon his intellectual nature, upon the fact that he had a *mind*.

But the Greek argument went even further. If man was rational, then his life must be guided in a rational manner. He should so live that his actions are subject to reason. At once, another element was introduced. Man was not only a *rational* creature ; he was a *moral* being, intended to direct his behaviour by moral principles. This note was sounded very forcibly in Greek philosophy. The genuine *man*, the man who led a properly human life, was the man who subjected his feelings, instincts and ambitions to the control of mind. The purpose of life was therefore a moral purpose ; virtue was moral conduct in accordance with standards understood and accepted by the mind. Whether you take the teaching of the Platonists, the Aristotelians or the Stoics, the message is the same. Man's proper excellence lies in a moral life.

The Greek mind achieved a *harmony* and a *vision*. The harmony was doubtless incomplete ; the vision not fully clear. Both were later to be enlarged and enriched through the Christian revelation. But a harmony was certainly there. And it was a harmony, in which men felt themselves at home in the world ; they felt themselves in contact with that world and knew it through their minds. The world or better, the *Kosmos*, was a macrocosm, while each human being was a microcosm, mirroring the world within his mind. This vision

again accorded great importance to the individual man. He had a position of worth and dignity ; he enjoyed rights which called for respect. And, sure of himself, he was able to venture far afield. In his outlook was that combination of security and adventure, in which Chesterton discovers the special character of Western civilization.

To this Greek contribution came a contribution from ancient Rome. From Rome emerged the massive ideas—of order, law and justice, and of peace. One could dwell for a long time on the achievement of Imperial Rome and trace its influence throughout Europe : in the Latin languages, in the monuments of Rome itself, in the remains of Roman theatres at Orange or the arenas of Nîmes and Arles, in the Porta Nigra of Trier or the Imperial palace in Spalato, in the baths of Chester or St. Albans. Virgil's line readily recurs :

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

It was no mere civilization of might and power. The Roman legions that guarded the line of the river Danube were defending another harmony and vision—that of peoples united together under one rule, retaining their local loyalties and, in considerable measure, their local independence, yet all co-operating as members of one Commonwealth, enjoying the protection of the Roman armies and the benefits of the *Pax Romana*. Those who are familiar with the *Aeneid* of Virgil will understand how lofty and noble, at its best, could be the Roman ideal. There descended from older Republican days to the Empire the message contained in measured words like *gravitas*, *fas*, *jus*, the idea of personal dignity and yet the sense that the individual must be ready to sacrifice himself for his city's or his people's cause.

Rome brought a new harmony—that of unity amid diversity. On the whole, Rome was *tolerant*, tolerant of local differences and of a wide variety of beliefs. This may seem a strange assertion when one recalls the savage persecution of the Church ; yet it is, by and large, the fact. The Christians presented the pagan world with a fundamental challenge which was at the same time a total challenge ; every now and then the pagan authorities would meet that challenge with violence.

Within the ancient world there developed a third element. It came from Palestine, where the Jewish people had led a life different in many respects from that of their neighbours. With occasional lapses, they preserved their belief in the one God ; they were guided by prophets. To them spoke the voice of God—"Hear, O Israel". Their thought and spirit was theocentric, as that of Greeks and Romans could never have been. Out of this people sprang Christianity. Christ came among them, the Incarnate Son of God. Rapidly through the ancient world there spread the new gospel, so enthusiastic, so self-assured.

What incidentally was the reaction of the early and then of later

Christians to this ancient world of Greece and Rome? It was at first a reaction of opposition. Rome was in their eyes the symbol of material power and pride, of everything they rejected in their new faith. Rome meant the *world*; it was Babylon, city and centre of iniquity. Later, however, the Christian attitude altered. Christians came to regard the condition of the world, as it had developed under Greek thought and Roman dominion, as a Providential preparation among the gentiles for the coming of Christ. The material universality of the Empire appeared to them a fortunate condition for the spread of a universal Faith. They looked for figures among the gentiles who could be pagan equivalents of the Hebrew prophets. So could Clement of Alexandria refer to Plato as an Attic Moses, speaking Greek. So too could the Christian mind interpret the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil, a poem that foretells the birth of a remarkable child, as a prophecy of the birth of Christ.

During the fourth and fifth centuries the old Empire declined and fell under the pressure of the tribes from North and East. Into its territories poured the new peoples from beyond the *limes*: Goths and Franks and Huns. Slowly but only very slowly a new order was established. The tribes were converted to Christianity; round the monasteries civilization gathered. After ages of chaos and disorder the Church was able to institute a new order and harmony. In the year 800, a descendant of these tribes, Charlemagne, was crowned a new Roman Emperor of a newly-conceived *Imperium*. Gradually, Christendom came into being.

With all its deficiencies and defects, this was a Christian order of society. It was certainly not perfect. What human society could be that? But it incorporated a new vision—finer and grander than any men had yet realized.

What were its elements? Some of them, at least, we can distinguish.

In the first place, it preserved the Greek notion of the value of the individual man. And it went much further than the Greeks had ventured to go. They had accepted slavery as an integral part of their social system. In Christian eyes, every man enjoyed the full human dignity, as a creature of God and as redeemed through the Passion and Death of Christ. In that respect there was human equality. The Greek notion of the individual man, characterised by his possession of mind and his obligation to lead a rational and moral life, was now heightened by the concept of the Universal Fatherhood of God and the redemption of all mankind through Christ. I am not discussing here the distinction made by the thought of medieval Christians between Christians and the infidels outside of Christendom: but inside the Christian realm, the notion of human dignity was extended to all men, regardless of their status and abilities. The individual had an immortal soul; his first purpose in life was an

individual purpose ; it was connected with God and concerned with salvation.

This meant that the new harmony which Christendom achieved had a very different centre from the harmonies of Greece and Rome. The Greeks found their harmony in an ordered world, in which everything was ordained and organized, ultimately by some larger Mind. The Roman harmony was more external, that of the co-existence and co-operation of many and varied peoples within a broad association and under one dominant Power. The Christian harmony is a harmony of dependence upon God. The Christian outlook is *theocentric*. Harmony exists in the universe for the reason that the universe depends upon the Creator. There is meaning in the universe because that universe has its being from God and mirrors His perfections in its incomplete and shadowy way. Especially has Man the special mark of the Creator within himself. Far more than the rest of creaturedom is he the image and likeness of God. Everything, depending upon God, is ruled and safeguarded by Divine Providence.

From this recognition of God as the *centre* came another of the elements of Christendom. Men accepted a spiritual authority. Men did acknowledge in theory, even when in practice they ignored or flaunted it, the spiritual authority of the Head of the Church, the Holy Father in Rome. He was the arbiter in questions of belief and morality. He was sign and symbol of the pre-eminence of spiritual values. Men understood that they were subject to the Moral Law, whether they were individuals or rulers. It is important to emphasize that to the medieval mind the ruler was *under* and not *above* the law. The doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, that later was to become the Absolute Right of Governments, was not a doctrine of the Christian Middle Ages : it was the invention of an already post-Christian era, the seventeenth century. The true medieval belief was that the ruler could do wrong and often did wrong, and that his transgressions were against the law—ultimately against the Highest Law of all, the Law of God.

Coupled with this recognition of the rights of the individual citizen and of a rule of law and moral principle in public life went a sense of corporate society. Men did not live as individualists. They were organized collectively and corporately. Each trade or branch of industry had its guild, an association of masters and men, of owners and employees. Each guild had its patron saint, its feeling of close comradeship ; and it looked after the interests of its members. Medieval society solved, in its rough and ready manner, the problem which has caused such acute distress in modern times—the problem of reconciling the rights and interests of the individual with his duties towards the community and in general towards society.

Finally, men felt themselves united in Christendom. It is sometimes stated that during the Middle Ages there was no such thing as

national sentiment, as it later developed. This is not true. Englishmen did feel themselves as English (read Henry V and Richard II of Shakespeare to be assured of this); the French were French enough during the reconquest of France. But this national feeling was still contained within a harmony of Christendom. Men were first Christians and Europeans, and only then did their local loyalties declare themselves. And so was reached, in Christendom, a new realization of the old Roman ideal, that of the union of many peoples, held together in a common faith, and with a keen consciousness of what they had and treasured, and this transcended their awareness of whatever made them different and therefore kept them apart.

The achievement of Christendom was a grand one. Imperfect—of course—but none the less outstanding, and all the more outstanding, when one reflects upon the tragedies of our own times. What jewels of art and architecture remain from those ages of common faith and inspiration! The cathedrals of Britain, France and Western Germany; our oldest universities, Paris, Vienna, Prague, Bologna, with some of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge; the hospitals that gave splendid service, despite their lack of modern technique; the poetry and popular drama from which have sprung the great European literatures! It was an age of vitality, of dynamism, of inspiration. It did not last. By the law of all human activities, it could not last. New developments and crises called for new syntheses, hasty, partial, prejudiced. Indeed it is safe to say that any new synthesis which ignores or belittles the basic elements of the civilization of Europe is certain to be both wrong and ineffective.

Not that the influence of Christendom disappeared, with the break-up in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the old Christian order of society. The gigantic works of the great Renaissance artists, of Michelangelo, Raphael and Bramante, were in the genuine Christian tradition. Baroque architecture was a new flowering of man's instinctive desire to express his dependence upon God. The spirit of adventure and discovery—this was an essentially European spirit, which now, with the sailing of the far oceans and the discovery of new continents, flamed with greater warmth and radiance.

Yet, it would not be incorrect to state that, since the break-up of this old order, European men have not found another to take its place. With all their great advances in science and invention, they have as a rule stressed one side of reality and consequently have not reached a harmonious outlook. Heresy is a one-sided emphasis upon an aspect of the truth to the detriment or exclusion of other aspects. Our modern attitudes have been, in this sense, *heretical* or *heresies*.

In the first place, spiritual authority was first resisted, and then ignored. Moral principles came to be disregarded, then forgotten, in public life and international relationship. In medieval teaching,

the ruler was *subject* to the law. Now, he became *emancipated* from the law. What was adopted as a prerogative by rulers like James I of England and Louis XIV of France was claimed as the right of governments in the nineteenth century. The Absolute State had its prophets and defenders, like Hobbes and Hegel, for whom the State was the highest earthly incarnation of the evolving Spirit. So the State grew in its own estimate and in its claims. Correspondingly, the liberty and rights of the individual citizen declined. Out of this one-sided emphasis upon *authority* at the expense of *liberty* and to the exclusion of *principles above the political sphere*, has developed the theory of Socialism, which would put everything into the hands of the State and the very ugly manifestations of the theory of State Absolutism in Nazi Germany and particularly in Soviet Russia.

With this disregard of spiritual authority and moral principles in public and international life has come a loss of that sense of association which formerly existed among the European peoples. The need for such association is now vitally recognized. Witness, the efforts to create a Western Union and the projects for the establishment of a United Europe. Such desires are sound and healthy, and some framework in which they can be realised effectively is needed if Europe is to survive. Europe in modern times has been cursed with the plague of nationalism ; this is no natural love of home and people, but after the arrogant manner of " My country, right or wrong ". Previously, Europeans felt themselves to be first Europeans —that is, Christian men—and only then did their local attachments assert themselves or, perhaps more accurately, these local attachments could be sincerely felt without prejudice to wider loyalties. Patriotism is sound enough, when it is positive and means that a man appreciates and is ready to maintain and to defend the tradition, the culture, the way of life of his own people. But modern nationalism has been negative rather than positive ; it has been concerned more with an assertion of itself *against* other people than with love of what is truly and properly its own.

In the social order too, there developed after the break-up of Christendom a spirit of individualism, which ignored or set aside its responsibilities to the community. This individualistic spirit may be traced in many spheres. It manifested itself in the revolt of men against the authority of the historic Catholic Church and in their claim that they must follow the dictates of the individual conscience. The basic tenet of the Protestants was the right of *private judgment* ; every man his own priest and prophet, every man to interpret the Scriptures in his own way ; no other man to stand between the Almighty and the individual soul. It showed itself in the new direction given to philosophy and already latent in Descartes, though he had not comprehended fully the significance of this new direction. Man was now in philosophy interested not so much in the problem of Reality as

in that of Knowledge. He was not looking for what lay beyond and behind the world of experience, but wondering whether his mind was capable of attaining to any knowledge, and what was the value of this knowledge, could the mind attain it. And so we can detect a slow drift towards *Subjectivism*, which is to culminate in the subjective systems of the Germans, Hegel, Fichte and Schelling.

It expressed itself also in the social and economic order. Here grew up, first of all, the comfortable bourgeois view of the Calvinists that success in affairs of commerce or finance was a mark of the Divine favour—and, not, as Catholic reasoning had always hinted, a sign to the contrary or, at best, a situation fraught with both perils and responsibilities. With this came the Liberal theory that all would be right and for the best in a world, in which men were permitted politically and in economics to do what they pleased. Thus was paved the way for the individualism of the nineteenth century and for the growth of what is known as Capitalism, in the less fortunate sense—the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of relatively few individuals, with consequences disastrous for the community and for mankind at large.

Nowadays, the pendulum has swung violently in the opposite direction, with just as little care for a Christian balance. The emphasis now is all upon the community, the collective, with the result that, in countries where this collective mentality prevails, the rights and liberties of the individual are denied or frustrated. Here again, Christendom provided a rough-and-ready solution of this problem, how to reconcile individual and community.

Yet, all this variety of emphasis can find its place within the European heritage. The major fault is in every case a want of proper balance.

Individualism was wrong, but not because it stressed the importance of the individual. Christendom had done that, and far more fundamentally than Liberal individualism. But Liberalism emphasized that individualism in so sharp a manner that it lost sight of the individual's duties to the commonweal; in fact, it ignored the commonweal under the supposition that the commonweal could best be served by unrestricted individualism.

Nationalism was not wrong in so far as it taught men to appreciate their language and national tradition. It was wrong in its desire to exalt that tradition above the traditions of other peoples, instead of attempting to appreciate or at least respect traditions other than its own. It was gravely wrong when it emancipated rulers and subjects from their common responsibilities of European citizenship.

Even the concept of the powerful State was not wrong, though it was always dangerous. Authority is necessary, but authority must remain heedful of obligations as well as of power. One of our hardest problems is just this problem of Power. For Power has detached itself from responsibility; it has begun to exist on its own and for its

own sake. The development of scientific research, the discovery of atomic energy—this has brought the question of Power to a critical head. Either men must learn to control Power or Power will destroy mankind. One of the most tragic consequences of the world's abandonment of spiritual authority and of the decline of moral influence in international affairs is the fact that we stand now before this most frightful and frightening problem.

Europe needs a new harmony. This will be, if ever it can be realized, at once the re-establishment of an old harmony and its adaptation to new circumstances. She requires a harmony that will safeguard the individuality of human persons and the liberties of peoples and at the same time will revive the sense of a common heritage and a common purpose. The people of Europe must learn again that there is a unity more fundamental than all differences ; they must acknowledge spiritual purpose and authority ; they have to accept the Moral Law as the basis of human effort and policy, in both national and international life.

FRANCIS MARCH.

### SHORT NOTICE

#### THEOLOGICAL

Father George Hayward Joyce, S.J., died in 1943, but before his death he had completed the new edition of his *magnum opus*, **Christian Marriage** (Sheed and Ward : 21s. n.). On the appearance of the first edition, in 1933, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* called it "a modern Summa on Christian Marriage", and in England both the *Church Times* and the *Church of England Newspaper* gave it high praise. The present edition is revised and enlarged by over a dozen pages, but the new matter is historical and does not touch the doctrinal teaching of the book. In an introductory note, Father F. Courtney, S.J., of Heythrop College, who has seen this edition through the press, points out that four passages have been rewritten and a section added on Papal dispensations (pp. 545-554). There are additional documents in the appendix (pp. 632-634). But we regret that Father Joyce did not find it possible to accept the suggestion of the late Father W. H. Kent who reviewed the first edition in THE MONTH of April, 1933. Had he been able to do so, we should have had in the appendix the famous letter of Pius VII to Napoleon, in which the Pope refused to dissolve the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte.

Book production like so many other things costs much more than it did fifteen years ago, which makes it the more remarkable that the publishers have succeeded in keeping the price of the book unchanged. The printing and set-out of the first edition were very good, but a careful comparison with the second edition shows a number of improvements in the latter. It is a pleasure to see on p. iv, "Printed by John Griffin"—a reminder that at eighty-four Brother John Griffin is still at work.

# MISCELLANEA

## I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

### COLONIAL CIVILIZATION OF THE FUTURE.

#### A FRENCH POINT OF VIEW

THE Proceedings of the French *Semaines Sociales* are usually published in book form in due course. It is possible in the meantime, from reports already available,<sup>1</sup> to form an idea of the ground covered and of the general trend of the thought expressed at this year's *Social Week*, held in Lyons from the 19th to the 24th July under the patronage of Cardinal Gerlier, and presided over by M. Charles Flory. The Cardinal and a number of the French Bishops were present at the meetings.

The general subject dealt with was that of "Overseas Peoples and Western Civilization" (*Peuples d'outremer et civilisation occidentale*). The horizon scanned from this view-point would evidently be vast. If more attention was paid to territories that have come under French influence, colonial or missionary, yet the broad principles enunciated are in many cases capable of wider application.

For convenience of analysis the views expressed may be treated as answers to three questions, viz. (1) What have been the effects on peoples overseas of their contacts with Western Civilization? (2) What has that Civilization still to offer them? (3) What in the future should be the guiding principles of European colonial activity?

Question 1 was answered fully, even mercilessly, with little tendency to hand any bouquets to the West for its colonial achievements. The attitude is symptomatic of the spiritual lethargy of a France that is trying to digest a forcible diet of "Planned Prosperity"; a diet whose *ersatz* quality is even more pronounced than with the other democracies.

The notion of colonization, explained M. Reuter, Professor of Colonial Law at Aix-en-Provence, is a very comprehensive one. In the wide sense, colonization may be said to occur when there is inequality, coupled with interaction, between racial groups, on whatever plane; when, for instance, one people takes a share in, or complete control of the economic development of another through the action of private commercial interests, with a consequent movement of Capital, machines, and technicians. Communism, or Communistic propaganda, is a form of colonization, with the difference that traditional Capitalistic colonization is, apart from the profit motive, indefinite in its aims, haphazard and more or less open in its methods.

Capitalistic colonization, and the industrialization that accompanies it, have given rise to native proletariats, especially in North Africa, according to Maître Buttin, of Meknès (French Morocco). This proletariat is badly housed under completely unhygienic conditions, is weakened by disease which has its roots in those conditions, and is consequently unable to provide the labour output demanded by the new economic structure into which people have been drawn. M. J. Guitton, *agrégé* of the University of

<sup>1</sup> In *La Croix* for the dates mentioned. A shorter account in *Études* for September, 1948. The Proceedings are published by *Chronique Sociale de France*, Secrétariat Permanent, 16 rue du Plat, Lyons.

Paris, thought that Europe itself had produced an industrial effort that was in fact beyond its capacity. The crisis in Western Civilization brought on by the death-pangs of Capitalism had spread to the fields of its colonial exploitation.

The Congress had the benefit of hearing Sister M. André du Sacré-Cœur, a White Sister and Doctor of Law, well known for her social work in East Africa, on the effects of Western contacts on family life. When confronted with a patriarchal system in which marriage is not so much a personal union as an alliance between family groups to increase their wealth, with consequent polygamy and the buying of wives, the European power refrained from interfering. The system is slowly crumbling away and little is being provided to replace it. The requisitioning of labour, facilities of travel and migration mean long absences for male workers. Industrialization has brought high wages, riches for some. The scale of prices for wives has risen, making their acquisition difficult for the many, whilst the new rich are able to be more polygamous than ever. The only counteracting factor is the limited number of monogamous unions, mostly Christian. Serious obstacles exist to the increase of these ; the whole environment is antagonistic. The rights of the individual, freedom of choice, the education of women for monogamous independence from patriarchal control are neither understood nor appreciated.

According to Roger le Tourneau, Lecturer at the University of Algiers, the whole Moslem world is in a dangerous condition of transition, or "moult". In face of Western weakness, and encouraged by the newly-discovered resources of Moslem lands, the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Arab revivals are gaining strength. But a proletariat is being created in industrialized towns, whilst the nomad is perishing. Whatever spiritual conquests Islam still makes, its doctrines have not developed, though some Moslem theologians, like Mahomed Abdou, are trying to harmonize their teaching with modern scientific discovery. (One may add that the very large number of "Arab"—the term is convenient, though doubtless inaccurate—workers from North Africa are beginning to form a serious problem in France itself. Their numbers are estimated at 350,000, with the prospect of rising to 1,000,000 in ten years. Completely uprooted, *déracinés*, with no family ties or moral code, keeping no religious observance, unstable and incapable of holding any employment permanently, the proportion of alcoholic addicts among them is high, and they are figuring with alarming frequency in the crime reports, especially for robbery with violence.)

For the first time in the history of the *Semaines Sociales* there were addresses from negro speakers. M. Louis Achille, from Martinique, had some outspoken words about racial prejudice. The coloured races, having discovered that white superiority is based rather on fuller technical knowledge than on moral values, are refusing to acknowledge that colour implies superiority, or the reverse. For the products of "the terrible heresy of racial prejudice", political discrimination, segregation, proposals for sterilization and the rest, M. Achille gave a large portion of the blame to the white woman. (Whatever the justice of this complaint, it penetrates to the core of the whole question. For this demands all the frankness and generosity which, according to the commentator in *Etudes*, both sides brought to their treatment of it in the Congress.)

M. Robert Montagne, professor at the *Collège de France* and specialist in Islamic studies, thought that on balance the results of European

colonial effort have been favourable. The native population of Algeria, for instance, has trebled in 120 years. The motives of this effort have been mixed but in general it has aimed at imposing peace, and combating famine and disease, though the disease and even the complete disappearance of races have in some cases been the result of the interference. If a proletariat is created that is hostile to Europe, yet polygamy tends to diminish, true homes are founded and the status of woman has been elevated.

In his opening presidential address, M. Charles Flory deplored the fact that in face of the desire of the younger peoples, or of their leaders to throw off European control, Europe in her exhaustion and depression had begun to lose faith, to undervalue her own rôle as an educator and guide. We are far from the days of a Galliéni, a Faidherbe, a Lyautey, a Brazza, or a Père de Foucauld. And, according to M. Guitton, in order to educate, we must possess more than our pupils. Have we more? Have we, as a civilization, brought to these overseas peoples anything more than technical processes and secularism (*laïcisme*)? Had not the West profited by Christianity without accepting it, speaking of the best so as to hide the worst?

Confronted with this picture of a loss of prestige, what will be the answer to question No. 2? A negro speaker, M. Alloune Diop, Councillor of the Republic for Senegal, while condemning certain European methods in face of a real African civilization, reminded the Congress that an African problem still exists. Africa needs Christianity and therefore needs the West. But a certain inferiority, even sub-humanity, often stands in the way of assimilating the Christian message; "we do not speak the same language". Will an exhausted Europe, asked M. Flory in his turn, caught between American technocracy and the Soviet masses, recover its influence? The Word was made Flesh on the shores of the Mediterranean, where was likewise inherited the humanistic civilization of antiquity. For a millennium and more the West has been the vehicle of Christian thought to the outer world. Are we to think that its rôle has come to an end? The peoples have the right to control their own destinies, but so has Europe the right and duty of maintaining, if not a sovereignty, at least a presence, through her missionaries, educators and technicians, of whom there will long be need.

It is easy enough to draw up a catalogue of European failures. It is more important to know how errors committed may be retrieved. In general, the principles formulated at the *Semaine Sociale* emphasized (i) the importance of respecting and fostering native cultures and civilizations, and (ii) the need of promoting Christian education. A few speakers would seem, however, to have gone further. Sister Marie-André advocated not only a social programme to prepare African women for monogamy, but also juridical pressure to discourage polygamy. Admittedly, the problem that confronts Christianity in a polygamous Moslem, and especially a Semitic Moslem population, can be an extremely difficult one. But, presuming that the summary report presents correctly this proposal for legal sanctions, there is no evident guarantee that when one system is undermined by them, Christianity is going to take its place. Sister Marie-André herself has described elsewhere the solid progress achieved in East Africa by normal missionary methods; for instance the three flourishing congregations of black Sisters that have been established, the Black Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, the Sudanese Daughters of Mary and the Sisters of the Annunciation.

M. Delavignette, Governor-General in French Africa, was concerned for

the preservation of the very real peasantry that exists in Africa ; small groups following their crafts and working the land with archaic implements. Forced labour had degraded this peasantry. It is being disintegrated and turned into an uprooted proletariat by migration to large-scale industrial enterprises and plantations, and especially to urban centres along the coast. The primitive structure of this peasantry, said M. Delavignette, is a community one. The only way to save it is to equip and organise its groups for mechanized community production along different lines, including agriculture, but keeping in mind the poverty of the African soil.

M. Delavignette, a high Civil Servant, is evidently a firm believer in *dirigisme*. If what he has in mind is a mass-injection of occidental Socialism, one is tempted to surmise that after that the unfortunate patient would be anybody's corpse. A long-term effort, with complete absence of exploitation, to educate and equip for community production is another matter. If carried out, the project might bear a resemblance to the great achievement of the Jesuit "Reductions" in Paraguay in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Reductions were inspired, however, by a strong religious and spiritual motive. It is not immediately evident that such a motive would be available for present-day Africa.

Another coloured speaker, M. Fabert, Vice-President of the National Students Association, demanded the abandonment of "Paternalism" in the European attitude. M. Flory urged that full use be made of traditional native institutions. The European educator should adapt himself, putting aside any notion of superiority, imparting his fuller knowledge on terms of equality. In the words of Père de Foucauld, towards their colonies the nations have the rôle of parents towards children, and must strive by education and instruction to make them equal, and even superior to what they are themselves. Dr. Anjoulat warned that European-directed hospitals, sanatoria, dispensaries, ought not to be regarded as a final solution of native problems. They mark only a stage on the road. The first necessity is to train native élites who will finally replace the doctors and social workers from the West.

Although the *Semaine Sociale* was not a Missionary Congress, the final word may well be given to the remarkable address delivered by Mgr. Henri Chappoulie : an address which was, it may be added, characteristic of the zealous activity, the broad sympathies and absence of chauvinism that distinguish the speaker. The missionary, he said, should not be the agent of any Government. The Mission stage is a transitional one, during which the Western missionary should "de-occidentalize" himself as far as may be, and, while retaining intact the essentials of the Church's teaching, *adapt* himself to native cultures as completely as he can, and *adopt* whatever spiritual and moral values they possess as the foundations of a Christian edifice. The native Church must be the goal of the missionary's apostolate as it is the declared policy of the Holy See : witness the 55 native bishops now ruling dioceses and vicariates. The task involved is a delicate and difficult one. Mgr. Chappoulie commended the example given in the past by the protagonists of such a policy, the Jesuit Fathers Roberto de Nobili and Matteo Ricci in China.

It is a pleasure to record a tribute to those great pioneers and their methods, from an official source (for Mgr. Chappoulie is Director in Paris of the Pontifical Organization for the Missions). The tendency of the Holy See to revive their policy, within such limits as changed circumstances indicate, is no less remarkable, and, we may hope, will bear

abundant fruit. It cannot but form a major element in the future relations of Western Europe with civilizations overseas.

J. O'C.

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## A SAINT IN LONDON

### SOME REFLECTIONS CONCERNING ST. FRANCES XAVIER CABRINI.

IT must be a rare experience to find yourself talking in a garden just beneath the window of a room in which once lived a saint, and a saint too, in the fullest and canonized sense. Yet, such was my experience a few weeks back when I preached at a ceremony in the garden of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart at Honor Oak. In a first floor room of the old house, whose window overlooked the ceremony and which itself is now converted into a chapel, had lived for a year St. Frances Xavier Cabrini, foundress both of this house and school and also of the Congregation to which both belong. She had lived in this very house, a little more than fifty years ago. She died in 1917, and within thirty years of her death she was canonized by Pope Pius XII in St. Peter's.

The ceremony in question consisted in the unveiling of the saint's statue—a replica, naturally of slighter dimensions, of the statue which stands in St. Peter's since the canonization. The replica is in a forecourt between the front of the old house and the road which mounts quite steeply up to the school.

There are a number of points which must strike every reader of Mother Cabrini's biography. In the first place, she is a very modern saint, of our own times, born only in 1850 and canonized within a century of her birth. Then, secondly, the main centre of her work lay in the United States. Though not a native American, she was in a very definite sense a saint of the New World, where indeed she lies buried. The Americas, South as well as North, were the corner of the Lord's field where this remarkable woman was sent a'harvesting.

Of this work, more in a moment. What first impressed me, when I read the biography, was a combination of three facts. First, that in her earlier years she met with refusal and rebuttal, so much so that a more sensitive or better a less determined person might have abandoned project after project. The second, that the work she in the end did was so different from that of which she had always dreamed—an experience not at all uncommon among the saints. The third, that she was a woman who would never take the answer, *No*.

She was born in Lombardy, in Sant'Angelo between the cities of Pavia and Lodi—the thirteenth child of a moderately prosperous family of farmers. She was at school for five years with the Daughters of the Sacred Heart and in the difficult period which followed the seizure of Rome in 1870 and the proclamation of a United Italy, she earned a living as a school teacher.

In her early twenties she felt the stirrings of a religious vocation. She tried that vocation, as we say, not once but twice. On two occasions she asked for admittance into a religious congregation, once the Daughters of the Sacred Heart who had educated her, and then the Sisters of Canossa. In both cases her request was refused, partly, if not entirely, on grounds of insufficient health. It might well have seemed that the religious state was not for her. Then for seven years and under circumstances of acute diffi-

culty she worked in an orphanage at Codogno. Gradually through her competence and understanding she took charge, though not official charge, of the orphanage, and seven of the girl orphans who grew to young womanhood under her care formed themselves into a group of quasi-religious.

1880 saw the closing of the orphanage and a permission given to Francesca Cabrini from the local bishop to establish a new religious institute. Failure was now turned to achievement. The young woman who had been rejected by two religious congregations entered religious life by the foundation of her own.

Its first house was set up in Codogno ; a second was added, at Grumello, in 1882 ; a third—this was a major adventure—in 1884 at Milan. The new religious were known first of all as Missionary Salesians of the Sacred Heart, but in 1889 the word "Sisters" was substituted for "Salesians", to give the present title of the society. The main object of the congregation was to establish orphanages and schools, but at the back of Francesca Cabrini's imagination lurked the missionary dream of working in the Far East, and especially in China. Hence, her devotion to the Apostle of the East, St. Francis Xavier, whose name she adopted after her baptismal "Francesca".

In 1887 Mother Cabrini made the journey to Rome for the first time—a journey she was to make repeatedly, from places as far distant as New York and Buenos Aires. But her first purpose was a quite modest one ; she wanted permission to found a school in Rome. Her initial interviews were most discouraging. There were quite enough convents in Rome, she was informed. What use have we of more ? Had she been less determined, she might easily have left unfriendly Rome for friendly Lombardy. But she stayed on, finding it difficult to spell out the answer, *No*, and well aware that persistence is a quality much needed in work for God. A third interview followed the preceding two. This time, refusal became acceptance ; she was asked to establish two schools, not one. Once again had determination triumphed over seeming failure.

But a crisis was developing. She had hoped for permission to devote her missionary institute to work in the Far East, that vast region of which she had dreamed since childhood. But the plans of Providence are often very different from man's proposals. So had it been with St. Ignatius of Loyola. His ambition for himself and his first companions was the conversion of the infidel in the Holy Land—the traditional infidel of the medieval mind ; yet the main work of his Society would lie elsewhere and in contact with the new heresies of the Protestants. So it had been with St. Anthony of Padua. He again thought himself destined to evangelize the Moors of Northern Africa, but his life work, crowded into so short a span, was to be an evangelization of Northern Italy.

When Mother Cabrini was in Rome in 1887, one of the problems that preoccupied the mind of Leo XIII, was that of the Italian immigrants in the New World. Already there were more than a million immigrants in the Argentine, and also in Brazil, and close on two millions in the United States. There was the direst need for priests and churches and schools. The speed and extent of the migration had almost paralysed attempts to provide religious help. The Pope turned to this new congregation, as did also, by invitation letter, the Archbishop of New York. Would she turn West instead of East ? "Not to the East" said the Holy Father "but to the West. For the present a great field awaits you in America". It was a sudden wrench with the dreams and hopes of the past, it was a sacrifice, but a

sacrifice willingly made, an offering freely given. The Pope had commanded ; the Will of God had been made clear.

However, the way was not yet fully open. One further discouragement lay in wait for her, on the threshold of her new work. She sailed from Le Havre on March 23rd, 1888, and arrived in New York at the end of the month. Her companions and herself found nothing prepared for them, neither house nor accommodation. The Archbishop had in the meantime withdrawn his invitation and written to Rome to tell them this. Their first night in the New World they spent together in two rooms of a poor and verminous hotel only, at their first interview with the Archbishop, to be advised to take the next boat back to Europe. This was no helpful introduction ; a fainter heart might have quailed. But Mother Cabrini's answer was, equivalently : "The Pope has sent me ; and here I stay".

Of her work and the achievements of her society in the United States I will say very little. It started in poverty in the teeth of much scepticism and opposition. The Church authorities and would-be benefactors had divided counsels. However the influence of the new school and orphanage was so marked, and the effects of the Sisters' activity in the Italian ghettos so clearly beneficial and uplifting that doubts became assurance and criticism was stilled to admiration. The first large house the Sisters acquired was from the Society of Jesus, when they took over West Park, formerly the Jesuit novitiate ; there they had room for a mother house, an orphanage, a day school and later their own novitiate. Here may be mentioned *en passant* Mother Cabrini's personal regard for the Society of Jesus. Her first visit, on arrival at Rome in 1887, was to the Gesù, where she prayed before the large altar to the right, in which is preserved an arm of her patron, St. Francis Xavier, just as her first call in London, whither she had travelled from Paris, was to Farm Street Church for Mass and Communion ; and there too she doubtless prayed at the altar of St. Francis Xavier, just to your right as you enter the church, with a conspicuous painting of the saint's death above the altar.

The work, once commenced in the U.S.A., soon increased and multiplied. In very few years orphanages and schools had been opened in several of the bigger cities. Then came an appeal, backed by the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Simeoni, that she and her nuns should take over the Italian Hospital in New York. She hesitated. It was not really their type of work. However, her knowledge of the conditions under which Italians were living and suffering in the United States and of some of the hospitals in which the Italian sick were tended made her accept the new responsibility. Within a short span of years, the Sisters had hospitals in Chicago, New Orleans, Denver and Seattle and a preventorium in California for children threatened with tuberculosis.

But I leave the work to concentrate upon Mother Cabrini's many journeys. She must have crossed the Atlantic at least eight times in either direction ; in fact, that particular journey from Genoa or Le Havre to New York became almost part of her routine. But there were other travels. In October, 1891, she left New York, sailed as far as Colon, and then crossed the Isthmus of Panama ; thence she continued by boat, a boat serviced by a Chinese crew, and she landed in Corinto, a port of Nicaragua. Here, in Nicaragua she established a house. This had a chequered history for four years with the excitement of life in the tropics and the instability of the politics of Nicaragua. Eventually, the house was closed because of one of the periodical revolutions, and the Sisters taken further South to Buenos Aires.

An even longer voyage, four years subsequently, took Mother Cabrini with one companion down the West coast of Central and Southern America. She records that they landed together at Callao and made a pilgrimage to Lima, the Peruvian capital, in honour of St. Rose ; they landed also at Antofagasta. Finally, they reached Valparaiso, where they stepped ashore, as her companion could face no further sea travel, to complete their journey by land. In Santiago, capital of Chile, they had to wait for twenty-five days, until the snows had melted sufficiently from the road across the Andes. Then over the Andes on muleback—a hardy enterprise as many a traveller like Charles Darwin has experienced—through the Argentine frontier to Mendoza, and from Mendoza over the pampas by train. A school was commenced in Buenos Aires. But to-day the Sisters have some fifteen houses in Argentina.

Five years afterwards, on December 1st, 1900, she sailed once more to Buenos Aires, this time from Europe. She stayed there for seven months. The result was more establishments, not only in the Argentine but in Brazil as well.

There were other foundations too in Europe : one in England, at Honor Oak, which has prompted me to write this short article ; in France ; also in Spain where are the *Colegio Leo XIII* of Madrid, and the orphanages in Madrid and Bilbao.

This active life of government, travel and enterprise drew slowly towards its end after the outbreak of the First World War. Mother Cabrini had laboured without rest and relaxation ; had worked herself out. She died on December 22nd, 1917, and was buried in the United States.

The record of her activity is not the whole of the story. Activity without the background of sensitive prayer and abandonment to the Divine Will could easily degenerate into mere *busy-ness*. Long years of government and "planning" might have dried up the inner sources of religious strength. If Mother Cabrini was canonized with a rapidity that has been very rare indeed in recent centuries, this has been due not so much to her practical achievement, though she most certainly did get results, but to the spirit which so evidently and energetically inspired that practical work and illuminated it in a remarkable way. To judge from her letters and recorded sayings her spiritual life was simple and still profound. "My secure boat", she wrote, "is the Sacred Heart". That was her fundamental devotion, mirrored in the name of the congregation which she established. With this went a special devotional approach to Our Lady, Mother of Graces, and it was Our Lady under this title whom Mother Cabrini regarded as the patroness and even the foundress of that society. "My Star of the Sea", she wrote, continuing the same metaphor, "is Mary". She added that the protector of the congregation was St Francis Xavier.

Indeed, parallels could be drawn between the Apostle of the Indies and this quiet and resolute Lombard woman. Outwardly, there was little resemblance ; nor, I think, were their natural dispositions alike. But their work took them along similar paths, one Eastwards, the other, Eastward by desire and dream but Westward by the Papal wish that expressed so evidently in her mind the Will of God.

From one other standpoint, Mother Cabrini is a saint of our own times. The work she undertook was for the advantage of Italian immigrants—that is, of people uprooted from their original homes and natural atmosphere and thrown, at least to begin with, upon the shores of stranger lands. They were lost for a time, confused and bewildered, herding together for pro-

tection and human intercourse in ghettos of their own speech and habit. For these Italian immigrants in the Americas that time is long past. They have acclimatised themselves, have made new homes and indeed have played a significant part in the development of the countries of their settlement. Our present decade faces the problem of other immigrants—of the homeless, the refugees, the displaced, the new déracinés. The pioneer work of Mother Cabrini makes her in truth an eminently modern saint.

J.M.

### SHORT NOTICES

#### BIOGRAPHICAL

Most people will be familiar with Father C. C. Martindale's recent C.T.S. Pamphlet, "What the Saints Looked Like". It costs three pence. **The Face of the Saints** by Wilhelm Schamoni (Sheed and Ward : 21s. n.), translated by Miss Anne Freemantle, costs a guinea. Its price is no doubt due to the one hundred and twenty authentic likenesses of saints who range from Basil and Gregory to John Bosco and Francesca Cabrini. Your feeling of the authenticity—or value—of some of the portraits, especially of the death masks, will be your own to form. But there are some excellent portraits which go far to balance those which are grim or inadequate. The single page biographies which accompany the illustrations are frankly poor. They might have been improved by some arrangement to profit by the Butler-Thurston "Dictionary of Saints", and one standard biography might have been suggested in each case together with some indications of a bibliography. The able translator has shortened the introductory pages on "Holiness and Canonization", the eighteen-page essay which she leaves is quite valuable.

#### LITERARY

More and more ought we to feel gratitude to American institutes and publishers for the interest they take in English Catholic literature. Boston College is a case in point; for there the enthusiastic scholar and librarian, Father Terence L. Connolly, S.J., has assembled a Francis Thompson "museum". He is also author of two Thompson volumes, and has edited the "Poems" and also the "Mystical Poems of Nuptial Love" by Coventry Patmore. Not satisfied with this homage to Thompson, Boston College last year staged a Centenary Exhibition in commemoration of Alice Meynell in their Great Hall and Reception Room. As a souvenir of the exhibition has been issued the **Alice Meynell Centenary Tribute** (Bruce Humphries, Inc., Boston : \$2.25). This includes three graceful studies of the poetess: the first, of personal reminiscences, by Robert Wilberforce, C.B.E., the second, in appreciation of Mrs. Meynell's prose, the third of her poetry. Sister Mary Madeleva, C.S.C., who contributes this third study, writes thus, beginning her remarks from the poem "A Thrush before Dawn": "Here are all the qualities for which Alice Meynell is unique and of which she is master: the brief succinct statement, the sudden surprising and perfect metaphor, the richness of classical allusion, the yearning beauties of a beauty-laden past, the innocence, the chastity, the white poignance of love suffered and renounced. All the economies of lyric perfection are here, inevitable as the economy of a flower. The casual music moves with the artlessness of a bird's song".

## II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

The third number of *Lumen Vitae* for 1948 (July–September) is as usual produced admirably. It contains a rich selection of articles in English and French from widely different quarters. Of particular interest to readers in Britain will be a lengthy account by Fr. F. H. Drinkwater of Religious Education in Great Britain, which deals both with the general educational system of England and Wales and with religious teaching in the schools. Mr. C. S. Lewis makes some illuminating points in his "Difficulties in Presenting the Christian Faith to Modern Unbelievers". He insists that preachers to-day have to learn "the popular English language, just as a missionary learns Bantu before preaching to the Bantus. . . . Our problem is often simply one of translation. Every examination for ordinands ought to include a passage from some standard theological work for translation into the vernacular. The work is laborious but it is immediately rewarded. By trying to translate our doctrines into vulgar speech we discover how much we understand them ourselves. Our failure to translate may sometimes be due to our ignorance of the vernacular ; much more often it exposes the fact that we do not exactly know what we mean ". Mr. Lewis distinguishes between the older approach to God and that prevalent now in secular circles :

The ancient man approached God (or even the gods) as the accused person approaches his judge. For the modern man the rôles are reversed. He is the judge : God is in the dock. He is quite a kindly judge ; if God should have a reasonable defence for being the god who permits war, poverty and disease, he is ready to listen to it. The trial may even end in God's acquittal. But the important thing is that Man is on the Bench, and God in the Dock.

The same issue has a review of "Catholic Education in India" by Fr. Thomas N. Siqueira, S.J., and notes on "The Teaching of Religion in Hungary" by István Nagy. There are in addition a long account of the recent *Semaine Sociale* at Lyons, which discussed the relations between European countries and their colonial populations and the manner in which Christian influence might be made more effective, and a study of the problems of preacher and catechist, with reference to the views of J. M. Sailer and J. B. Hirscher and of the Innsbruck school of to-day.

**The Downside Review**, for autumn, 1948, opens with a scriptural article by the Abbot, that comments upon suggestions made recently in a theological address by Professor C. H. Dodd. Professor Dodd had drawn attention to what he claimed were remarkable parallels between St. Paul's Epistles and the Gospel of St. Matthew. The Abbot's conclusion is that, while some of the parallels might be explained by coincidence or by the common Jewish–Christian background of the two apostles, "it does not seem reasonable to deny that most of the these similarities are due to relationship". Dom Ralph Russell treats the problem of "Anglicanism and Reunion" in a review of M. Hemmer's *Monsieur Portal* (commented upon in the October issue of THE MONTH). Professor A. H. Armstrong continues his "Studies in Traditional Anthropology" with a first article on Plotinus, the Greek philosopher of his predilection. Literary criticism is considered by T. A. Birrell who asks how the expression ought to be defined and what function in such criticism should be permitted to other disciplines, such as those of the

psychologist and the theologian. Lt. Col. H. F. Chettle offers a further and final instalment of his careful research into the history of "Lesser Benedictine Groups in the British Isles"; this time his subject is the Order of Grandmont.

The fourth centenary of the birth of the great Spanish theologian, Francisco Suarez, has been aptly and amply celebrated this year in Spain. **Estudios Eclesiásticos** have produced a centenary number of 550 pages, which begins with a tribute from the Patriarch of the Indies and has an introduction by the Bishop of Madrid-Alcalá, President of the Francisco Suarez Institute. Among twenty or more articles of appreciation, the Bishop of Calahorra analyses the attitude of Suarez to the question of the progress and development of dogma; Fr. Alejandro, S.J., considers his views on Evidence and Faith; Fr. Salavarri, S.J., assesses the authority which Suarez enjoyed during the debates at the Vatican Council. Various interpretations given by Suarez to difficult passages of St. Augustine and Suárezian comments upon Augustine's teaching about grace and freedom are examined by Fr. Dalmau, S.J. Fr. Galdos, S.J., studies the use of Scripture on the part of Suarez and declares that the Suárezian exegesis is always commensurate with the high status of Suarez as theologian. Fr. Lopez, S.J., calls attention to the conception which Suarez held of the priesthood and its dignity and shows how on this point he developed further the ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas. Other articles focus upon his treatment of Grace and Supernature, on the relations between Metaphysics and Theology in his writings. And we are introduced to an "unknown" teacher of Suarez, namely the Scripture scholar Martin Martinez de Cantalpiedra, and to a manuscript which Suarez had under his eyes, when he was composing his 1592 Alcalá edition of *De mysteriis vitae Christi*.

Shortly after the war two Jesuit reviews—*Studien* from Holland and *Streven* from Belgium—amalgamated in order to produce a periodical for wider reading. The **Katholieke Cultureel Tijdschrift Streven**, for that is the new title, issues a monthly number of 120 pages; printing, production and paper are distinctly good.

The issue for October, 1948, contains an article on "Church and Culture" by Dr. J. van Huetgen, S.J., the retiring editor, as well as a study of the Kingly-Priesthood of Christ, from Dr. Schoonenberg, S.J. Modern international problems come to the fore in articles on "Benelux, yesterday and to-day" and on "Tensions within the Eastern Bloc". The situation of the Catholics of Switzerland is examined and commented upon with some firmness by F. de Kock.

**Serviço Social**, which describes itself as a Review of Social Culture, comes from Brazil and is edited and produced in São Paolo. The third of its 1948 numbers—for it is a quarterly—shows clearly its normal framework. Part I deals with technical questions, from the sociological standpoint. Articles consider the importance and the necessity of social institutes and centres; the question of financial assistance; the outline of a plan for Social Service. Part II has a sub-title, Basic Problems, and under this heading the veteran Fr. Albert Muller, S.J., writes of the problem and inter-relation of "Work and Property". Part III consists of a thorough review of reviews, in which a large number of magazines and papers are "vetted" for their contributions to social and economic studies.

# REVIEW

A CENTENARY PUBLICATION<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the rarest and most valuable books in the Library of the Jesuit Colegio del Salvador, at Buenos Aires, is a well-preserved and complete copy of the first edition of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, published originally in 1548.

It is a rare book, since the first edition was for practical purposes a private one, and was not intended for general sale. In point of fact, there are very few known copies in existence. Even the editors of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, when they started to compile a list of the different editions of the Exercises, knew of only one copy of the first edition, which was then (that is in 1919) in the house of the Society at Enghien in Belgium. When Fr. Sommervogel decided in 1910 to publish a facsimile edition, this Belgian copy was the only one he was able to use.

The copy preserved at Buenos Aires is just as complete as the one used by Fr. Sommervogel. It has in addition two notes. The first was made by the keeper of the Vatican Library and is contemporary with the edition. The second, by Fr. Polanco, secretary of St. Ignatius. It reads as follows :

este volumen da el  
pe. mio ignatio p. el pe.  
Brandó  
† Polanco †

(" My Father Ignatius gives this volume to Father Brandó").

After the word "Brandó" some other word or words have been blotted out. I have done my best to discover what they were or might have been but without success.

There is a further manuscript note, which occurs at the end of the Papal Bull of Pope Paul III, which reads thus : *Gabriel Vignodus Archivii Romani annuus scriptor.*

This copy of the first edition of the Exercises in Latin has also some slight differences, if compared with the edition produced by Fr. Sommervogel, published in Paris by Lethielleux. These changes were made while the book was being printed.

The facsimile publication of this Buenos Aires copy is meant as a meed of honour on the fourth centenary of the first edition of the Exercises. It should be of interest to all members of the Society and to those also, who under the guidance of the Society have made retreats in the manner and spirit of the Exercises.

P.L.

<sup>1</sup> *Exercitia Spiritualia*. By St. Ignatius of Loyola. Facsimile of First Edition. Published in Buenos Aires. 1947.

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